

# Landscape of Control: An Early Bronze Age Ascent in the Southern Judean Desert

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## Abstract

*Remains alluding to the existence of an ancient ascent were discovered recently in the 'En Bokek survey at the southern Judean Desert. The ascent climbs from the channel of Nahal (Nahal = stream, wadi in Hebrew) Hemar, crosses the watershed divide towards Nahal Zohar, and continues to climb in the direction of 'Arad. The remains along the ascent's course date from the Early Bronze Age II–III (3050–2350 BC, henceforth EB II–III). The nature of the sites along the ascent, analyzed with consideration for their locations, suggests a management of a particular technology of power, exercised by an authority that controlled the traffic on the road. The purpose of this article is to describe the ascent and the technology of power perpetrated along its course during the EB II–III.\**

## Introduction

The area covered by the 'En Bokek survey (Figs 1–2) is situated on the western escarpment of the Dead Sea rift valley. It includes a very narrow

\* The survey of the "En-Bokek Map" (Map 150 of the Israel Survey Grid) is conducted by the author on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, to both he is indebted. The author is exceptionally grateful to Patrice Kaminski for drawing the maps and arranging the plates, to Helena Sokolowski who drew the objects, to Alter Fogel who photographed the finds, to Rafi Greenberg who has seen the pottery and confirmed the identification of the northern ceramic types in the assemblage, and to an anonymous reviewer who made useful remarks.

coastal strip on the southwestern shores of the Dead Sea, and step-like scenery of horizontal plateaus and high vertical cliffs that rises in elevation as moving west. A few large canyons cut this landscape, in an east-west direction, creating impressive fissures in the scenery.

The area is extremely arid with an average rainfall of 70 mm per year, and average day temperature ranging from 17°C in the winter to 34°C in the summer.<sup>1</sup> The only permanent water source within the survey's boundaries is the spring of 'En Bokek. Otherwise water may be found sporadically in water holes along the channels of the large canyons, which are filled by occasional winter floods coming from the area of the 'Arad Valley and the southern Hebron Mountains.

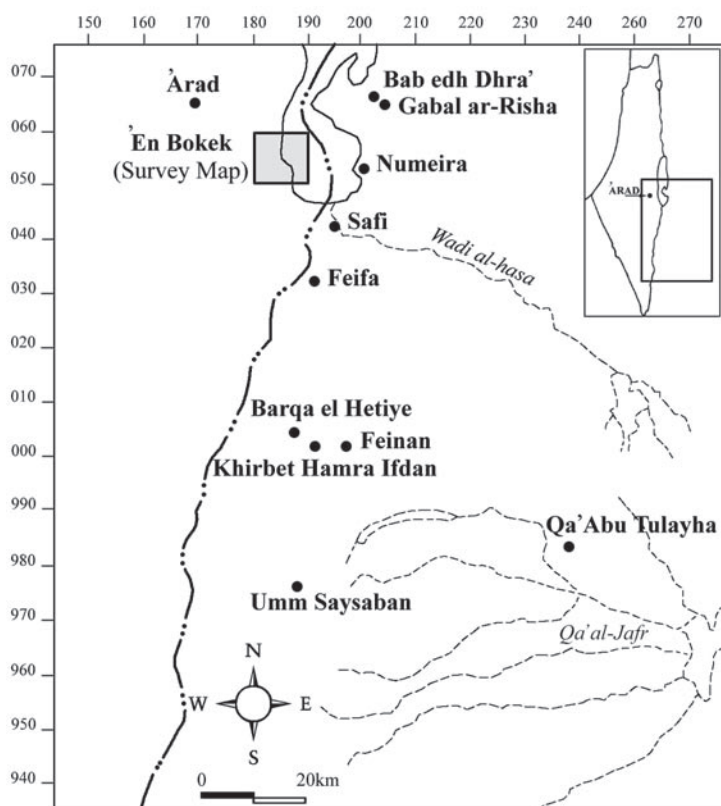


Fig. 1 General map showing the location of the 'En Bokek survey and sites mentioned in the text

<sup>1</sup> Yafe 1973.

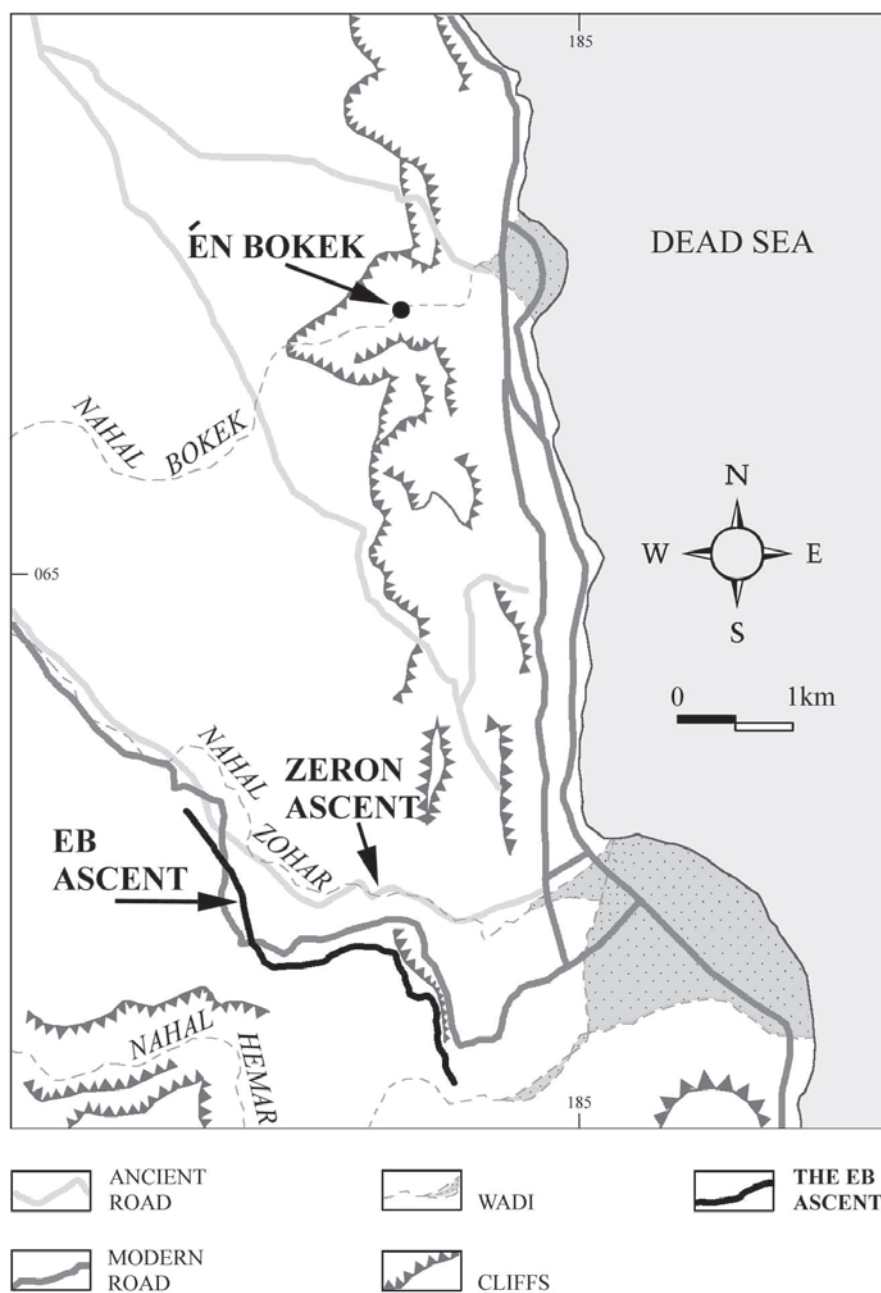


Fig. 2 'En Bokek survey: Topographical features and road networks

No large permanent settlements were recorded in the survey area. The surveyed sites include a number of small, fortified structures next to main roads, a large number of seasonal camps, various markers in the scenery strewn throughout the region (*e.g.* tumuli) and a large number of pottery scatters. From the chronological aspect, the sites cover a wide range of dates from prehistory to the present, with some gaps in the sequence. In contrast to the situation in the survey area, adjacent regions within a day's walking distance do include remains of large permanent settlements; On the east, one may find the sites of Bab edh-Dhra', Numeira, Safi, Feifa and more,<sup>2</sup> and on the west are sites such as Tel 'Arad, Tel Malhata, Tel 'Ira and others.<sup>3</sup> People traveling between those two regions should have crossed the research area with its major obstacle, the exceptionally steep escarpment of the rift valley, which had channeled the traffic into a limited number of ascents.

Previous investigations in this region, which paid attention to ancient routes and ascents, include works of Shalem,<sup>4</sup> Aharoni and Rothenberg,<sup>5</sup> and Har-El.<sup>6</sup> Their way of identifying ancient routes in the southern Judean Desert was based upon tracing physical remains such as tracks cleared from stones, retaining walls, steps, way stations and lookout towers.<sup>7</sup> They analyzed these data applying a Historical-Geography approach, which involved a combination of field records with specific and quite often considerably biased interpretations of ancient texts.<sup>8</sup> This way Aharoni and Rothenberg claimed to have identified biblical "Edom Route",<sup>9</sup> within our survey area, an identification that became accepted and usually unquestioned ever since.<sup>10</sup>

The methodology of 'En Bokek survey provides another method for the identification of ancient roads. According to our survey approach, any remain of ancient human activity, from a lower threshold of five sherds within a radius of 10 m, was considered as a site.<sup>11</sup> It should be noted that

<sup>2</sup> Rast and Schaub 1981; Schaub and Rast 1989; MacDonald 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Amiran *et al.* 1978; Amiran and Ilan 1992; 1996; Kochavi 1992; Beit-Arieh 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Shalem 1967, pp. 52–54.

<sup>5</sup> Aharoni and Rothenberg 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Har-El 1973.

<sup>7</sup> This methodology was practiced also by other researchers who have investigated ancient routes in other parts of the Judean Desert, such as Livneh 1990 and Meshel 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Yekutieli 2002, pp. 80–82.

<sup>9</sup> Aharoni and Rothenberg 1960, pp. 13–47.

<sup>10</sup> For example by Har-El 1973, pp. 32–35, 57. Our survey casts serious doubts on this identification, as no Iron Age finds were found along the suggested track of the "Edom Route", which supposedly passes through our research area.

<sup>11</sup> Warburton and Graves 1992, used similar definition at their work at Navajo Springs Arizona.



not many surveys adopt such an extensive definition. However, we believe that ignoring small sites cancels beforehand significant segments of ancient human activity. As Fletcher claimed most of the evidence created by human activity encompasses very small areas, and large activity areas rather testify to events that occur in a small proportion.<sup>12</sup> In other words, ignoring the smaller sites means closing the eyes to a large measure of valuable archaeological data.

Small sites are important for understanding ancient societies everywhere, but they are of an utmost significance in arid zones where sites are usually visited for short time periods by groups who leave only faint archaeological remains, *e.g.* nomads, caravans, or occasional passersby.<sup>13</sup> It is worth noting that the closest published survey to ours, MacDonald's work at the southern Ghors and northeast 'Arabah adopted a similar approach. His survey: "[...] called all scatters of sherds or artifacts, and all architectural remains, which appeared to date earlier than 1918 a 'site' [...]. A potbust [...] qualifies as a site".<sup>14</sup>

The insistence upon recording even very small sherd scatters as sites, proved in our case to be extremely beneficial, as it became a very useful method for identifying ancient routes. After gathering sufficient data we noted that many of the recorded sherd scatter sites are arranged on the map in linear patterns extending for long distances. Some of them are unmistakably distributed along known ancient routes, such as the Zeron-Ascent (*Ma'ale Zeron*) (Figs 2–4). Others appear to follow a very thoughtful topographical course, and thus they are most probably the remains of hitherto unknown routes. Apparently these sherd scatters are waste tossed by people who used the roads in the past, a phenomenon well known along routes and highways up to our days.

An additional advantage of using alignments of sherd scatters in ancient routes' research is that it facilitates the dating of the roads. In earlier occasions Judean Desert roads were mainly dated according to various scholars' interpretations of ancient texts. In our case the dating is done in a much more direct way avoiding the many pitfalls of Historical-Geography. Analyzing the finds from the sherd scatter sites in our survey map revealed for example that the Zeron Ascent operated during the Hellenistic, Roman and Islamic periods, and that the ascent described in detail below was used in the EB II–III.

<sup>12</sup> Fletcher 1986, p. 61.

<sup>13</sup> Rosen and Avni 1995; Yekutieli and Gabai 1995.

<sup>14</sup> MacDonald 1992, p. 9.

It should be noted that although the sherds scatter sites methodology for identifying routes is new in our immediate environment, it was used before elsewhere, such as at North and South America.<sup>15</sup>

### The Sites and the EB II–III Ascent

The sites presented below were encountered on the rocky ridges neighboring the lower segment of the modern 'Arad — Neve Zohar road (Fig. 3). Most of them were scatters of sherds with no additional built remains (Table 1), except for one, site 48-4, which will be described in detail below.

The sites are distributed in a linear pattern that was traced, up to date, to a length of 4.25 km, climbing from an elevation of minus 235 (235 below sea level) to an elevation of plus 25 (Thus the path has an average slope of 6.1 percent). The width of this distribution differs: it thins in some places to 1–2 m and thickens in others to more than 10 m. Due to the nature of the sites — sherds scatters, and their distribution — a linear alignment that follows a sound topographical track climbing from the rift valley westwards, they are interpreted as waste tossed along an ancient ascent.<sup>16</sup>

To facilitate the discussion the route will be described in three sequential parts (demarcated as segments 1, 2, 3 in Fig. 4):

1. The ascent from Nahal Hemar to the Hemar-Zohar watershed divide.
2. Sites on the watershed divide between Nahal Hemar and Nahal Zohar drainage basins.
3. The route within the drainage basin of Nahal Zohar.

*Segment 1:* This segment includes 15 sites, which align in a meandering line that starts at the escarpment adjacent to the lower section of Nahal Hemar, and end in a topographic saddle (mountain pass) on the watershed divide 1,750 m northwards (site 49-1). The lowermost site (57-5) is in an elevation of minus 235, and the saddle in minus 80. Thus the path passing through these sites climbs 155 m in a distance of 1,750 m; a slope of 8.86 percent.

After climbing the first 1,250 m of this segment, the ascent reaches a flat-topped hill with an oval shaped peak that measures 200 by 100 m. On this flat and well-defined area there is a concentration of six sites (the hill is

<sup>15</sup> Earle 1991, p. 12; Hyslop 1991, p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> The first identification of this road was published in Yekutieli 2001.

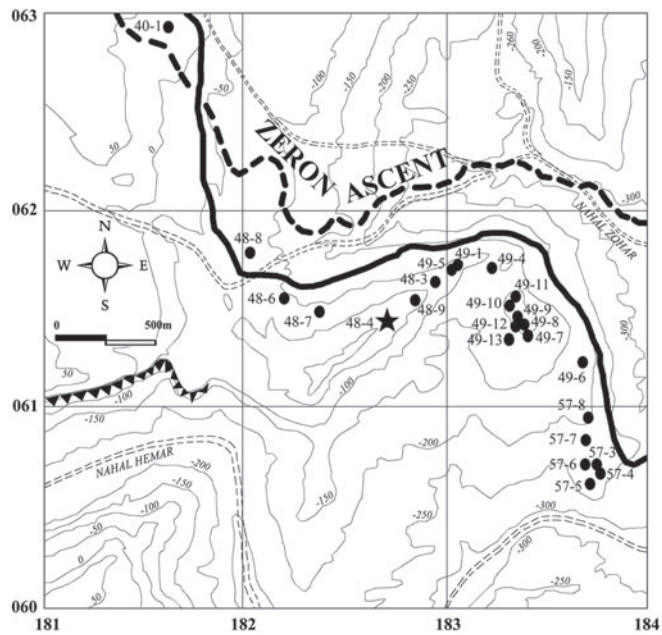


Fig. 3 The EB Ascent: Location of the surveyed sites

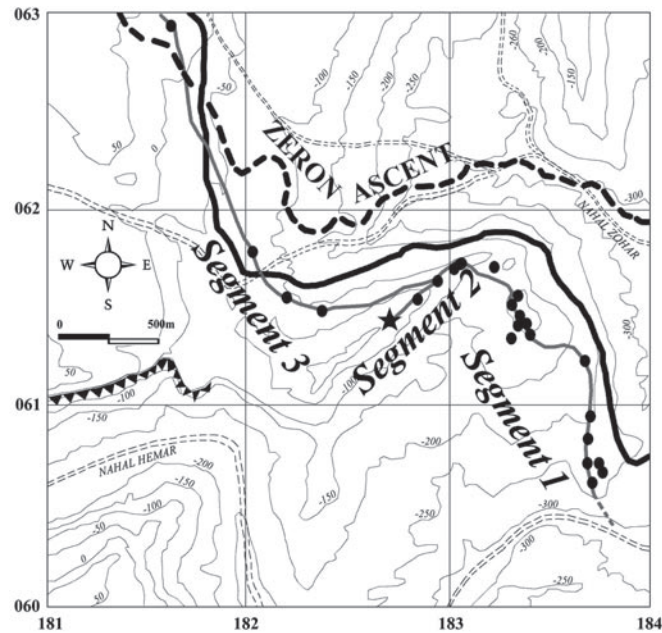


Fig. 4 The EB Ascent: General outline and subdivision

partly damaged by modern earth-works, and it is very probable that additional sherd scatters existed on that spot). The hill's topography and the sites' spread on its summit give the impression that the place served as a resting ground before continuing the steep climb waiting ahead. From hill 49-9 (named after a site located near its center) the route climbs northwards in a short and steep gradient to site 49-1 (Figs 5-6), which is located in a topographic saddle. This saddle is the only possible passage along the elongated rocky ridge, which separates between the Nahal Hemar and Nahal Zohar drainage basins.

*Segment 2:* This segment includes the sites on the watershed divide between Nahal Hemar and Nahal Zohar drainage basins. It consists of five sites that string along the ridge's crest, from the saddle of site 49-1 to the built site 48-4. The path passing through segment 2 climbs 65 m in a distance of 500 m; a slope of 7.69 percent. The entire segment allows an excellent view both north, towards the canyon of Nahal Zohar, and south, towards Nahal Hemar's canyon and the wide scenery that opens behind it.

Segment 2 starts at site 49-1, located at a mountain pass where both the ancient route and a modern trekkers' path cross the ridge. In the center of this site some piles of stones could be discerned as well as modern camels' resting ground. Between and around these stones EB II-III sherds, a basalt spindle whorl and a point of a copper awl were collected as well as many pieces of a restorable Islamic jug. Another concentration of EB II-III sherds was collected on a spur 30 m west of the site's center. Whoever stands at this point has an excellent view, covering hill 49-9, the final ascent of segment 1 into the mountain pass, site 49-1 itself, and the continuation of segments 2 and 3 westwards (Fig. 7). The arrangement of the site suggests that whoever controlled it could tackle the road travelers both as they crossed the mountain pass, and as they approached or retreated from it.

The modern trekkers' path descends from site 49-1 northwards in the direction of Nahal Zohar, however the trail of EBII-III pottery sherds leads westwards, on the ridge's crest along the watershed to sites 49-5 and 48-3. In this place the path bifurcates: one trail descends gradually, crossing the mountain's northern face diagonally (this part is defined as segment 3 and described below), while a second trail climbs on the ridge's spine, and passes through pottery scatter 48-9 towards the built site 48-4.

*Segment 3:* This segment includes four sites within the drainage basin of Nahal Zohar. The path descends from site 48-3 (minus 65) to site 48-6 (minus 100) — a descent of 35 m along 750 m (a slope of 4.67 percent), crosses a tributary of Nahal Zohar and then climbs up to site 40-1 in an elevation of plus 25. Thus the path rises 125 m in 1,500 m (a slope of 8.33 percent).

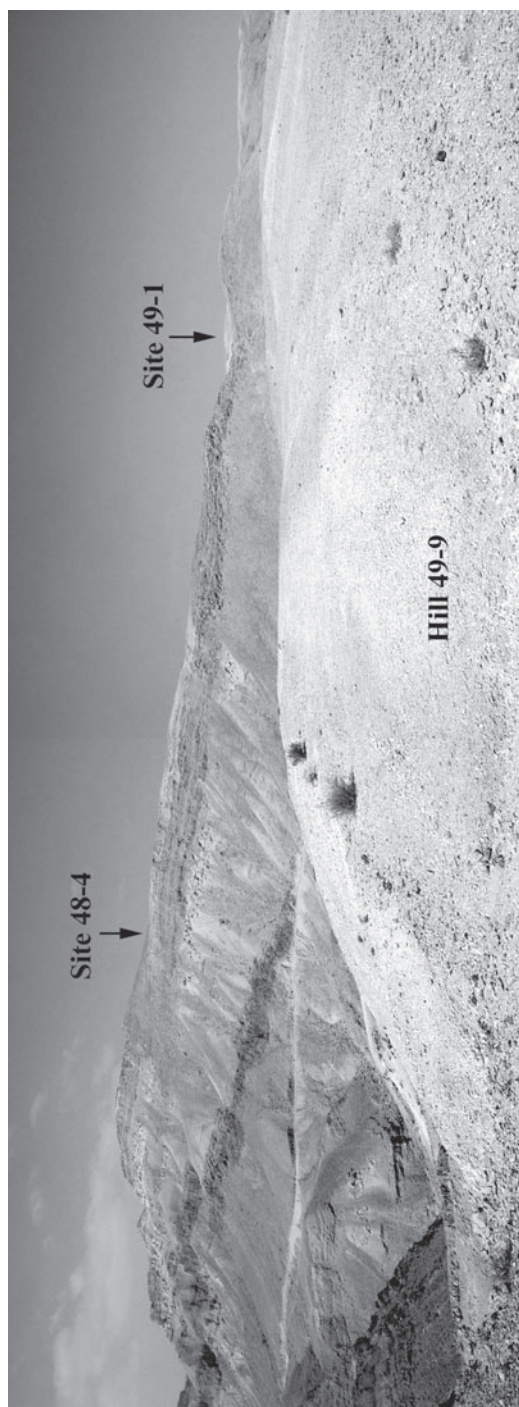


Fig. 5 A view from hill 49-9 to the northwest. Note the mountain pass at site 49-1, and the location of site 48-4, most of which is hidden behind the ridge



In summary, the thread of sites described above delineates a course of an ancient ascent, which climbed from the channel of Nahal Hemar in a northwesterly direction and operated in the EBII–III. No evidence for construction or pavement of any sort was found. The route is a trail, which had chosen a sensible topographic course that allows the travel of both people and pack animals. The ascent was followed, up to date to a distance of 4.25 km, and additional fieldwork might discover its continuation on both sides. The route is almost parallel to ascents that have passed in the region in later periods such as *Ma'ale Zeron*, and the modern highway (Figs 2–4). All these routes took advantage of the topography adjacent to Nahal Zohar that despite being very steep does not include any vertical cliffs, which are common on adjacent areas both south and north.

#### Site 48-4

The delineation and dating of the ancient ascent were not the only outcomes of following the pottery scatters. One of the most surprising results



Fig. 6 The final ascent of segment I towards the mountain pass of site 49-1

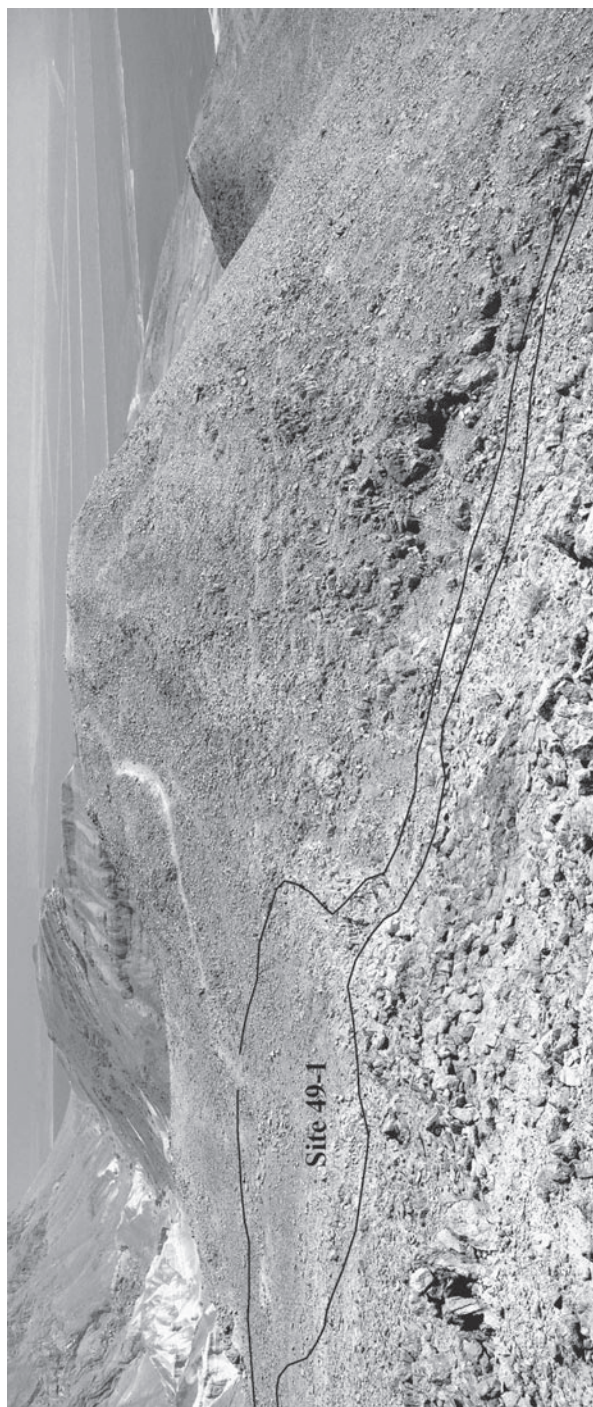


Fig. 7 Site 49-1. A view from the lookout point to the east. Note the ascent of segment 1 into the mountain pass. The canyon of Nahal Zohar is visible on the upper left.

was that the trail of sherds led directly into an exceptionally well preserved site — site 48-4 (Figs 8-9).

This site is a cluster of small structures constructed of local fieldstones and preserved in some places up to four courses, reaching a maximum height of 0.6 meter. This built cluster is situated within a small depression, 200 m northeast of the ridge's summit, hanging on a cliff, which drops abruptly 120 m downhill at the south edge of the built area, and again on the north in a distance of circa 50 m from the structures. The route leading to the site enters from its most accessible, eastern side.

The good preservation of the site facilitated the preparation of a preliminary plan without any need in excavation (Fig. 8). Two main areas are clearly visible in the site: a compact agglomeration of rooms in the north labeled "Area A", and a few unconnected structures in the south, some of which are separated from area A by a small spur. This area was designated "Area B".

The agglomerate in area A consists of five parallel rows of rectangular rooms attached to each other and arranged along the topography lines in northwest to southeast axis. Apparently this agglomerate was planned in a more or less 3 by 3 m grid (Fig. 9), to which a few additional structures were added in the south that do not align with the rest (124, 125, 126 and 127). Four main alleys (labeled in Roman digits; Fig. 8) cross this compact built area, and allow entry to its individual units. Alley I in the east give access to units 100, 101, 102 and 103. Alley II leads to units 104, 105, 106, 107, and 108, and alley III to units 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118 and 119. In contrast to alleys I, II and III that follow the topography, alley IV climbs south towards area B. The average inner size of each built unit in area A is 2.5 by 1.5 m. As currently visible (without excavation) it appears that the units are not interconnected. Each is an individual cell, which is accessed through a shared alley. There is evidence of a very late reuse (within the last decades) in rooms 100, 101 and 102, which appears as flimsy additions of stones used to raise the elevation of the ancient walls' stumps, as well as a modern hearth.

In area B three structures of two rooms each, are visible (129-130, 131-132 and 135-136). In addition there are remains of a few other installations or structures (128, 133 and 134). The area B structures are arranged according to the topography, with their long axis parallel to the elevation lines, as common in area A.

The finds collected in the survey of the site include EBII-III sherds within the built area, and another spread of sherds scattered on its north-western perimeter in a distance of 20 to 40 m from the structures. This



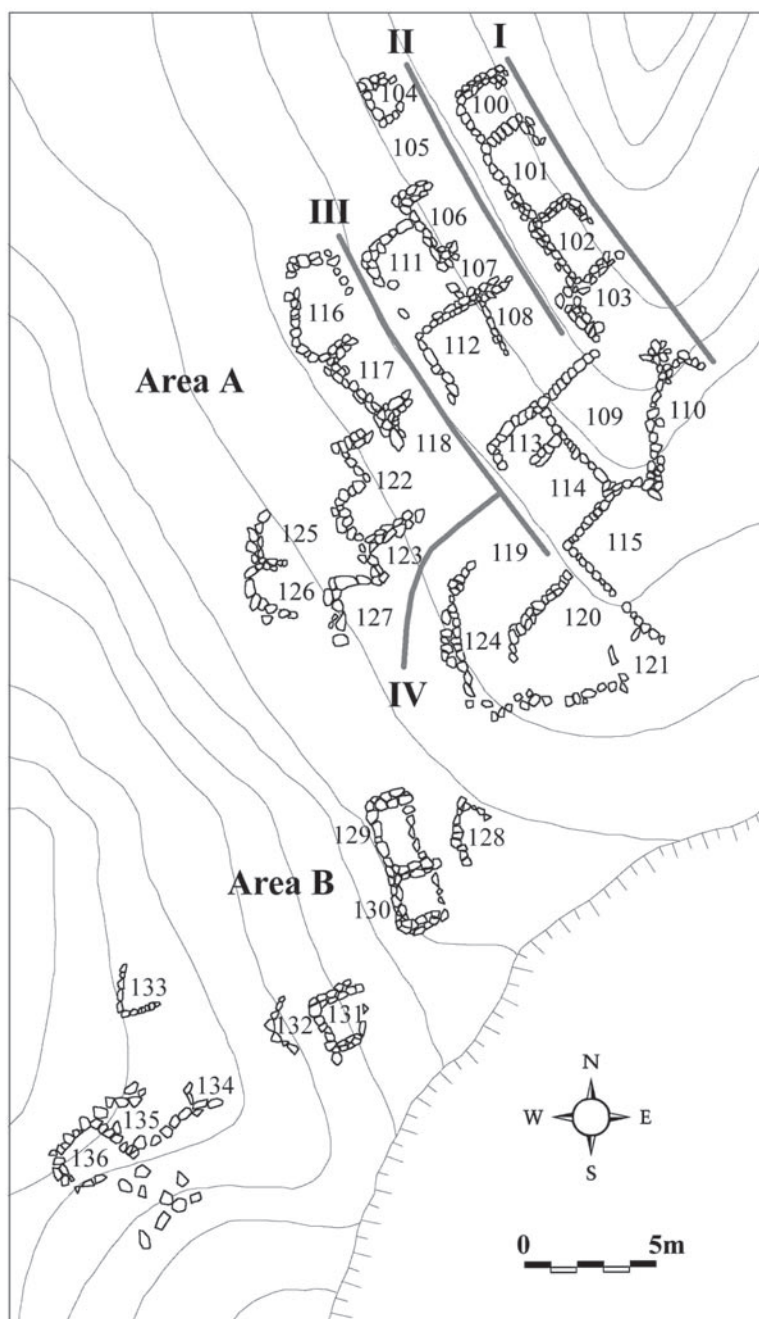


Fig. 8 Site 48-4: General plan and main alleys

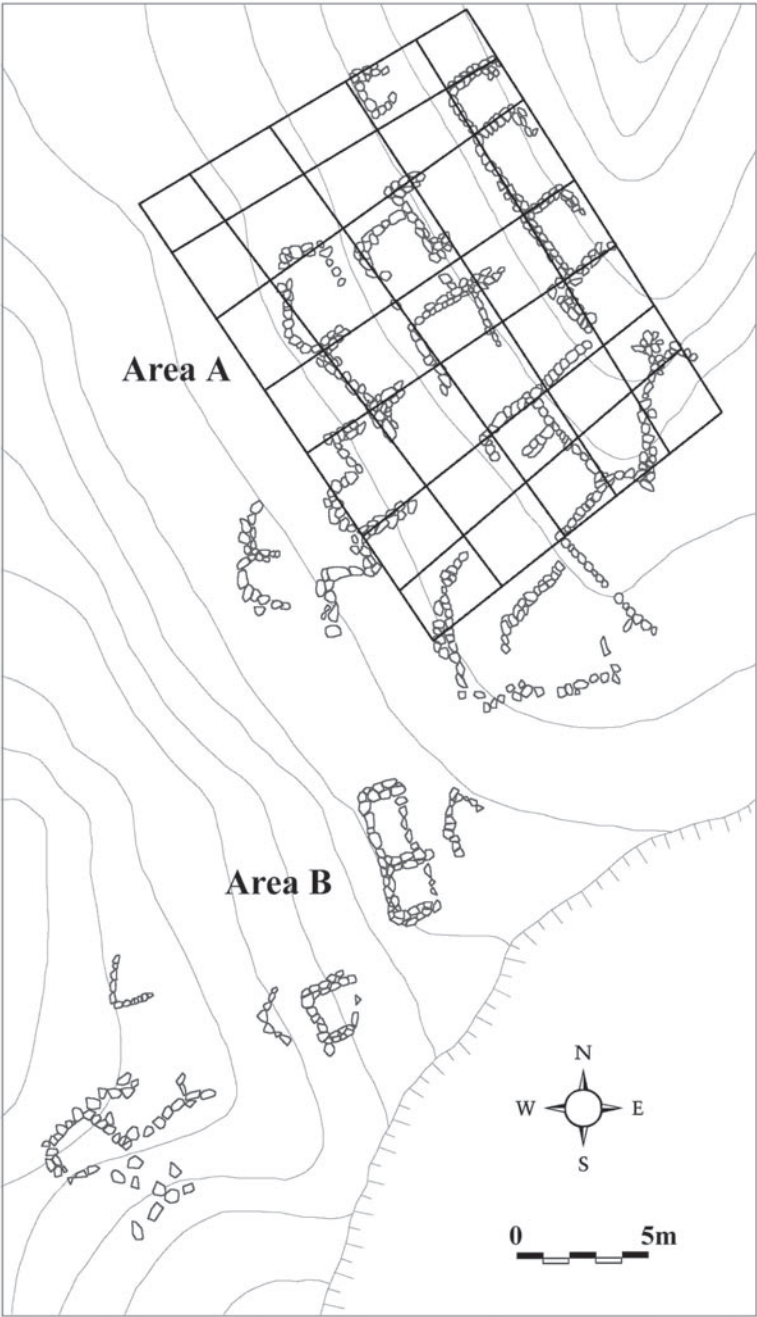


Fig. 9 Site 48-4: A grid superimposition

probably reflects patterns of garbage disposal, away from the living quarters.

## The Finds

As an opening remark it is important to note that a relatively large number of pottery sherds collected along the ascent were partly restorable, a testimony for minimal coverage and displacement since their deposition (a common phenomena in arid zones). This fact stresses the importance of paying attention to minute sites in our region, including small sherd scatters. It is interesting to note that MacDonald in his "Southern Ghors and Northeast 'Arabah Archaeological Survey" (SGNAS), which is geographically very close to our research area, also collected what he called "EB potbusts" that each represented a single pot that crashed on the ground.<sup>17</sup>

The pottery collected at the sites along the ascent consists of a repeated range of EB II–III bowls, craters, jugs, and storage-jars that strongly support the likelihood of the sites' contemporaneity.

A sample of finds is illustrated in Plates 1 and 2.<sup>18</sup> The assemblage includes hemispherical bowls with narrow pointed rims and thin walls (Fig. 12:6–7). The craters (Fig. 12:1–5) have thick and poorly fired bodies. Some of them are burnished, and include a strap loop handle, that in one case was incised (Fig. 12:1). One crater had a crescent shaped plastic attachment on its exterior (Fig. 12:2).

Two types of storage-jars were found. One type had flat bases, ledge handles with three spaced indentations, and occasionally a red slip (Fig. 10; Fig. 13:6–7). The second type had thin, combed body-sherds, flaring stylized rims, loop handles and flat bases (Fig. 13:1–4). These vessels were often fired to a metallic degree. No holemouth jars were found and it is assumed that cooking was undertaken in the craters.

Storage jars of the first type, jugs and most of the small bowls collected along the ascent have parallels in the large EBII–III sites in the near vicinity — 'Arad in the west, and Bab edh-Dhra' in the east (Tables 2–3). However, two pottery types are particularly remarkable as their closest parallels are found in much longer distances (Tables 2 and 3). The storage jars of the second type (Fig. 13:1–4) belong to the so-called "Metallic Ware" dated to EBII–III and common to northern Canaan;<sup>19</sup> whereas the closest parallels for the thick-walled and often burnished craters (Fig. 12:1–5) are found

<sup>17</sup> MacDonald 1992, pp. 69–70, sites 67, 71, 131 and 238.

<sup>18</sup> The complete assemblage is currently under study and will be fully presented elsewhere.



Fig. 10 Ledge handles from sites 57-7 (below) and 49-6 (above)

within another northern Canaanite assemblage, the “Khirbet Kerak Ware” (henceforth KKW).<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the pottery, site 49-1 yielded a fragment of a basalt spindle whorl (Fig. 11), a common item in EB sites,<sup>21</sup> and a piece of a copper point with a square section (Fig. 11). This piece is probably an edge of a copper awl, which is a widespread tool in the local EB sites.<sup>22</sup> Its square section is considered typical to the EB in contrast to a circular section popular in the Chalcolithic period.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> In the southern Canaanite context metallic storage jars were up to date exotic rare finds, such as a single storage jar fragment from the EB III layer of Tel 'Ira; Beit-Arieh 1999, p. 182, fig. 6.10:3.

<sup>20</sup> In the region described in this paper, KKW, or KKW imitations are exotic and rare, *e.g.* a bowl from Bab edh-Dhra'; Schaub and Rast 1989, p. 388, fig. 245:20.

<sup>21</sup> Amiran *et al.* 1978, pl. 76; Yekutieli 1992, p. 56.

<sup>22</sup> Yekutieli 1992, pp. 57–58.

<sup>23</sup> Ilan and Sebbane 1989, p. 144.



Fig. 11 Basalt spindle whorl and a copper awl from site 49-1

The picture that emerges from the preliminary analysis of the finds is therefore:

1. The date range of the pottery is EB II–III.
2. Sites from these periods are known both east and west of the survey area, a fact implying that the ascent was a part of their connecting network.
3. The ceramic sample from the ascent is different from the common assemblages found at EB sites in the Negev Highlands that are dominated by holemouth jars.<sup>24</sup> Curiously this specific type of vessel was totally missing at the ascent sites. This observation suggests that the ascent was a part of a different socio-economic system than that of the Negev Highlands.
4. The range of pottery types hints at an operation of long distance trade routes. Both the Metallic Ware and KKW are distinctly of northern Canaanite origin. Their occurrence at the ascent supports the notion expressed before of a north-south trade network along the rift valley that was active during the EB.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Sebbane *et al.* 1993, p. 43; Cohen 1999, pp. 37, 67; Rosen 2002, p. 31.

<sup>25</sup> *E.g.* Milevski, Marder and Goring Morris 2002, p. 227.

## DISCUSSION

### The Road

One of the most important results of the current research is the prospect of tracing accurately very ancient desert routes. An outline of the EB road network of the Negev was suggested before, but it was drawn on the basis of connecting dots (the EB sites) on the map along sensible topographic lines, or along the routes of known roads from later periods.<sup>26</sup> As presented above, it appears that EB routes can be located not as an educated guess but through solid evidence.

The common ensuing question to detecting an ancient route, is where did it come from and where did it lead. A few possibilities should be taken into account while addressing such a query. A specific road might have been a part of a network of:

1. Intraregional roads connecting population centers within a distinct region.
2. Roads between settlements and their resource areas such as agricultural fields, water sources, grazing lands, mining areas, or places with spiritual or ceremonial significance.<sup>27</sup>
3. Long distance interregional routes.

The route discussed here passes through the scarcely inhabited area of the southern Judean Desert, which forms a physical barrier between two distinct regions: the 'Arad Valley on the west and the southern Ghors in the east. Therefore it is apparent that it is a route of an interregional scale, which most probably connected those provinces.<sup>28</sup>

The regions on both sides of the route were populated in the EB II and EB III: In the 'Arad Valley the following sites are known to have existed during the EB II–III: Tel 'Arad,<sup>29</sup> small Tel Malhata,<sup>30</sup> Tel 'Ira,<sup>31</sup> and other smaller sites recorded in various surveys of the valley and its fringes.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cohen 1999, p. 73.

<sup>27</sup> Earle 1991, p. II.

<sup>28</sup> As anticipated by Amiran 1980, p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> Amiran *et al.* 1978; Amiran and Ilan 1996.

<sup>30</sup> Amiran 1980, pp. 26–27; Amiran and Ilan 1992.

<sup>31</sup> Beit Arie 1990; 1999.

<sup>32</sup> Amiran 1980; Govrin 1998, pp. 94–96.

In the southern Ghors the following EB II–III sites are currently known: Bab edh-Dhra',<sup>33</sup> Numeira,<sup>34</sup> Gabal ar-Risha,<sup>35</sup> and a few additional sites that were recorded in surveys of this area.<sup>36</sup>

Besides the social aspect of connecting population centers, this route had a clear economic rational within the realm of raw materials production and distribution. Areas within one to three days' walking distance from the southern Dead Sea Basin contained raw materials that could be transported to the 'Arad Valley and beyond through the newly found ascent. The copper mines of Feinan (Fig. 1), which operated during all the EB phases,<sup>37</sup> and which were the source for a large part of the copper objects discovered at 'Arad,<sup>38</sup> are only 40 km from the southern Dead Sea Basin. A supporting evidence for the connections along this axis was lately discovered at sites, such as Umm Saysaban, in the Petra region.<sup>39</sup> Another commodity, which was valued at the EB II–III settlements of the region, was the flint tabular scraper. Huge workshops producing such tools during the EB were recently discovered at the western part of *Qa' al-Jafr*, 80 km southeast of the Dead Sea (Fig. 1).<sup>40</sup> A third valuable raw material, asphalt, is found much closer to the route we discuss.<sup>41</sup> It was collected on the shores of the Dead Sea, and perhaps also in natural outcrops such as at Nahal Hemar — practically on the route's track itself. Asphalt was in high demand all along the EB,<sup>42</sup> and in the beginning of this period it was even exported as far as Lower Egypt.<sup>43</sup>

A clear evidence for the long distance commodities' traffic on the route is, of course, the finds described above, that include vessels originating in northern Canaan, and that most probably had arrived via the Jordan — Dead Sea rift valley.

<sup>33</sup> Rast and Schaub 1977; Schaub and Rast 1989.

<sup>34</sup> Rast and Schaub 1977, pp. 35–44.

<sup>35</sup> Körber 1993; Bikai and Kooring 1995, pp. 511–513.

<sup>36</sup> MacDonald 1992; Körber 1993.

<sup>37</sup> Hauptmann 1989; Fritz 1994; Adams 1998; Levy *et al.* 2001.

<sup>38</sup> Hauptmann, Begemann and Schmitt-Strecker 1999.

<sup>39</sup> Lindner *et al.* 1990; 2001.

<sup>40</sup> Fujii 1999; 2001.

<sup>41</sup> Har-El 1973, pp. 76–77; Nissenbaum *et al.* 1984; Milevski, Marder and Goring-Morris 2002, p. 222.

<sup>42</sup> Yekutieli 1992, p. 76; Nissenbaum *et al.* 1984; Marder, Braun and Milevski 1995, pp. 84–87; Milevski, Marder and Goring-Morris 2002.

<sup>43</sup> Rizkana and Seheer 1989, pp. 71–72.

## The Management of the Road

Our survey opens up another facet for study. In addition to the economic aspects of the road (an obvious feature which usually comprises most of the discussion of ancient road systems), the details collected allow to reflect upon the dynamics of the road and the operation of power in its organization. The discussion will begin with a suggested interpretation of site 48-4, and will continue to a reconstruction of a possible scenario for the road's operational dynamics.

### Site 48-4: An Interpretation

A comparison of site 48-4, and especially its area A, to contemporaneous EB II–III sites in the region is revealing. The Negev Highlands EB sites portray a so-called “pen and room style”.<sup>44</sup> These sites, which are mostly curvilinear in plan, usually comprise of a courtyard surrounded by small rooms.<sup>45</sup> These specific features are considerably different from site's 48-4 compact rectilinear grid plan.

The dwelling sectors at the EB II town at Tel 'Arad show also a difference; these quarters have discrete dwelling complexes composed of open courtyards and roofed rooms.<sup>46</sup> Curving alleys cross the residential areas and allow access to the central courtyards within each such complex. From each courtyard one may proceed to individual rooms or spaces that otherwise are not connected to the main alleys. This hierarchic spatial arrangement differs from the planning of site 48-4 where there is a direct access from the alleys into the individual rooms. In addition to this dissimilarity, the room sizes at site 48-4 are much smaller than room sizes at 'Arad. A closer resemblance to site 48-4 is observable at the EB III site of Numeira that displays compact rectilinear planning, though larger rooms.<sup>47</sup>

While considering site's 48-4 location within the landscape, the best contemporaneous parallels are found in the close periphery of Bab edh-Dhra' on the eastern coast of the Dead Sea. In that region a few EB II–III sites, such as Gabal ar-Risha (Fig. 1), are located in strategic positions that control the traffic around Bab edh-Dhra', most probably in association with control of water resources.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Rosen 2002, p. 31.

<sup>45</sup> Haiman 1998.

<sup>46</sup> Ilan 2001, fig. 18.3.

<sup>47</sup> Rast 1981, figs. 3, 7, 11.

<sup>48</sup> Rast 2001, pp. 528–529.



Another aspect of site 48-4 is of major importance — the issue of inter-visibility between its various areas and the ascent. A walk through the site reveals that area A allows no view of any part of the ascent, opposite to the situation at area B that offers excellent observation towards most of segment 1 of the ascent, and most importantly towards hill 49-9.

Looking the other way around (Fig. 5), while climbing the ascent or standing on hill 49-9 the major part of site 48-4 — the built agglomeration of area A — is totally obscure behind a ridge. The small isolated structures of area B blur into the escarpment background behind them, and might be recognized only by a trained eye that knows where exactly to look.

According to the points made above an interpretation of site 48-4 might be put forward. Since area A offers accommodation for the larger part of the site's dwellers, since it is arranged in a rectilinear grid which demarcates small individual spaces each accessed only from a main alley, and due to the fact that it is both well hidden from the surroundings and doesn't offer observation positions, it is suggested that it was used as barracks and logistics area within a small military or paramilitary outpost. Correspondingly, since area B offers accommodation for a small part of site 48-4's dwellers within two to three separate double-room units, since it is categorically unattached to area A, and because it offers excellent observation towards the ascent, it is suggested that it was used as a command and control area within the same outpost.

Accordingly, it is proposed that site 48-4 served as an outpost that controlled and monitored the traffic on the ascent. The outpost's leaders resided at area B, which both reinforced their status towards their inferior staff, and enabled a better control of the ascent. While in area A the common staff of the outpost lived in small standard units, had their meals, and kept the outpost's supplies.

Obviously, before putting forward this interpretation other possible explanations to the site were considered *e.g.* dwelling site, market place, caravanserai, etc, but these were given up as each of them managed to explain only some of the encountered features and not the whole apparatus.

The very small size of the rooms and their strict arrangement, as well as the distance to any reliable water source, dismisses the explanation of site 48-4 as being primarily a dwelling site. In addition, the site's unique plan is yet unknown within the accumulating corpus of EB dwelling sites from the surrounding arid zones.

The location of the site at a considerably unapproachable position, away from any main crossroad, concurrently with the fact that its main part is hidden, opposes the interpretation of the site as a marketplace. There is no

reason to hide a market, which almost by definition should be accessible and located on main road intersections. In addition, the relatively short distance (one walking day) to inhabited regions, either the southern Ghors or the 'Arad valley weakens the necessity in this location for a caravanserai to provide food, fresh pack animals, etc.

Taking into account the features of the site (being aware that it is not excavated yet), and the details of its intentional positioning within the landscape (further discussed below), it is argued that the best interpretation is that site 48-4 was used as a command and control outpost within the road apparatus. It is clear that such an interpretation assumes the existence of some kind of a state-level organization that operated in the region during the EB II–III. Within the scope of this paper there is no intention to elaborate on this issue, suffice it to say that Rast had recently described precisely such an entity that existed in the immediate time and space units discussed in this paper.<sup>49</sup>

### Technologies of Power at the Road

A final point in the discussion is an interpretation of the dynamics of the road management. The focal area for this reconstruction lies within a 1x1 km square, wherein segment 1 of the road crosses the ridge of segment 2 and turns into segment 3 (Fig. 4). The central feature in this location is the rocky ridge, which the road traverses at the single possible crossing point — the mountain pass of site 49-1. As presented above that site comprises both a passage where the road goes by and a lookout position that inspects the site and the ways leading to it (Fig. 7). These features enable this place to serve as an excellent checkpoint on the road.

Site 49-1 is 500 m away from site 48-4, the partly hidden control outpost that had an additional observation point towards the ascent and hill 49-9.

It is maintained that this whole apparatus was deliberately designed to enable a total control of the ascent in the following way: While a group of people climbs from the direction of Nahal Hemar it stops for a breath at hill 49-9 (Fig. 3). This flat hill is a perfect rest-ground after a long climb, and before the steep ascent waiting ahead towards pass 49-1. At this locality the group is clearly observed by guards both at 48-4 and at 49-1 (Fig. 3), who may get an estimate of the arriving party's size and potential power. The climbing group proceeds to mountain pass 49-1, where it is checked, taxed if necessary, and gets an authorization to proceed. In case that the

<sup>49</sup> Rast 2001.

guards anticipate any hostility, a backup force could easily be called from 48-4.

This special arrangement gives further advantages to the road controllers. As described above, people who climb segment 1 of the ascent towards pass 49-1, cannot see what goes on at the top of the ridge — Area A of site 48-4, where most of the guards stay, is totally obscure from the ascent. Area B is blurred and might be seen only by those who know exactly where to look at, and in addition, no hint whatsoever to the control operations taking place at pass 49-1 is exposed.

This situation has two effects that work for the benefit of the road guards: military and psychological. On the military level, the force of the road control is secreted. Its size is unknown to the ascending group, and therefore the protectors can surprise the road users, which are anyway exhausted from the climb. On the psychological ground, because the arriving party suspects it is continuously observed, it behaves accordingly. Even if there is only one observer, or none at all, the observed are terrorized by the chance that a powerful observer, with an unknown strength at an unknown position, watches them. In essence this is exactly the modern Panoptic,<sup>50</sup> or 'Big Brother'<sup>51</sup> effects that Foucault and Orwell had respectively described. Both these effects are used as extremely powerful mechanisms of power that may allow a small group to control large masses.

## Conclusion

Our survey methodology enabled the identification and dating of an ancient route near the southwestern corner of the Dead Sea. This route operated within the time range of the EB II–III. At least during some phases of its existence the road was under control of a certain regional power. This power had made a thoughtful use of the landscape conditions along the route. The exact location of the various remains demonstrates that the terrain was used to the best benefit of the road guards who were exceptionally aware to issues such as control, defensibility, offensiveness and visibility. Their use of space could have compensated for shortages in manpower through the manipulation of the Panoptic effect.

The finds along the ascent, as well as its location and direction testify that it was a part of an interregional route connecting areas around the Dead Sea and beyond with localities further west. The parallels cited above

<sup>50</sup> Foucault 1975, pp. 201–206.

<sup>51</sup> Orwell 1949.

suggest that the manipulations of power along the road might be an expression of the territorial expanses dominated by the regional urban centers: 'Arad during the EBII, and the settlement system that operated in the Southern Ghors during the EB III.

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Table 1. The sites along the EB road

Name	Coordinates		Elevation	Finds	Description
	NS	EW			
57-5	18370	6062	-235	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
57-4	18375	6068	-232	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
57-3	18375	6072	-227	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
57-6	18369	6072	-222	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
57-7	18367	6083	-210	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
57-8	18370	6095	-200	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
49-6	18367	6123	-170	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
49-13	18331	6133	-119	EB and Islamic sherds	Sherd scatter
49-4	18322	6170	-112	EB and Islamic sherds + flints	Sherd scatter
49-7	18340	6135	-102	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
48-6	18219	6154	-100	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
49-12	18334	6139	-100	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
49-8	18337	6140	-99	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
49-9	18335	6144	-99	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
49-10	18330	6149	-99	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
49-11	18333	6153	-99	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
48-7	18237	6148	-95	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
48-8	18202	6176	-85	EB and Roman sherds	Sherd scatter
49-1	18305	6170	-80	EB sherds, basalt spindle whorl, copper point, flints and Islamic sherds	Some stone installations
49-5	18302	6167	-75	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
48-3	18293	6162	-65	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
48-9	18280	6155	-45	EB sherds	Sherd scatter
48-4	18269	6143	-15	Structures, EB pottery and flint	A small built settlement
40-1	18165	6290	+25	Pottery, mostly Islamic, but an EB ledge handle as well	Remains of a structure

Table 2. Description of Plate 1

No.	Site	Reg. No.	Type	Parallels
1	48-4	/2-3	Crater	Ras Shamra level IIIA1; Contenson 1989, fig. 5:10.
2	48-4	/5	Crater	'Affula; Sukenik 1948, pl.11:2
3	48-4	/6	Crater	'Affula; Sukenik 1948, pl.10:1
4	48-4	/4	Crater	Jericho; Kenyon 1960, p.119, fig.38:27,28
5	57-7	/1	Crater	
6	49-5	/2	Bowl	'Arad; Amiran et al. 1978, pl. 13:10-12, 14;
7	57-6	/7	Bowl	pl. 22: 41,47 Bab edh-Dhra': Schuab and Rast 1989, Table 22: 2740-2846; Table 23: 3740-3847
8	49-6	/4	Jug	Bab edh-Dhra': Schuab and Rast 1989, Table 22: 2424; Table 23: 3443

Table 3. Description of Plate 2

No.	Site	Reg. No.	Type	Parallels
1	48-4	/1	Storage jar	Tel Dan; Greenberg 2000, fig.11.2:1,3, fig. 11.5:7-9
2	48-9	/1	Storage jar	Tell Abu al-Kharaz; Fischer 2000, fig. 12.8:2-4.
3	48-8	/1	Storage jar	
4	49-5	/1	Storage jar	'Arad; Amiran et al. 1978, pl. 17:2-4, 10
5	57-6	/3	Storage jar	'Arad; Amiran et al. 1978, pl. 15:3 Bab edh-Dhra': Schuab and Rast 1989, fig. 217
6	57-7	/2	Storage jar	'Arad; Amiran et al. 1978, pl. 38:1-3
7	49-6	/1	Storage jar	
8	57-6	/4	Storage jar	Tel Dan; Greenberg 2000, fig.11.5:9 Tel 'Ira; Beit-Arieh 1999, fig. 6.10:18 'Arad; Amiran et al. 1978, pl. 27:14
9	57-6	/2	Storage jar	'Arad; Amiran et al. 1978 Pl. 17: 4-9 Bab edh-Dhra'; Schuab and Rast 1989 figs. 194: 1-4, 216
10	57-6	/1	Storage jar	

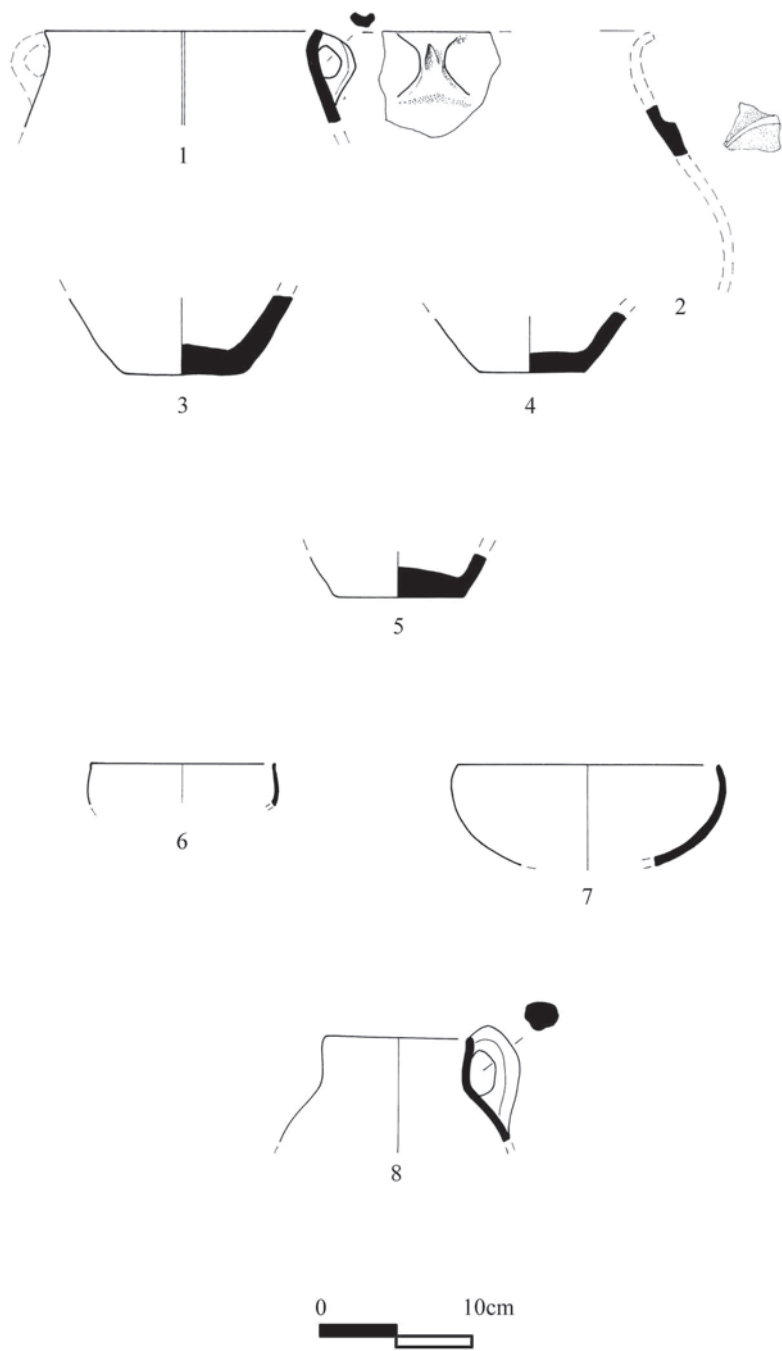


Figure 12

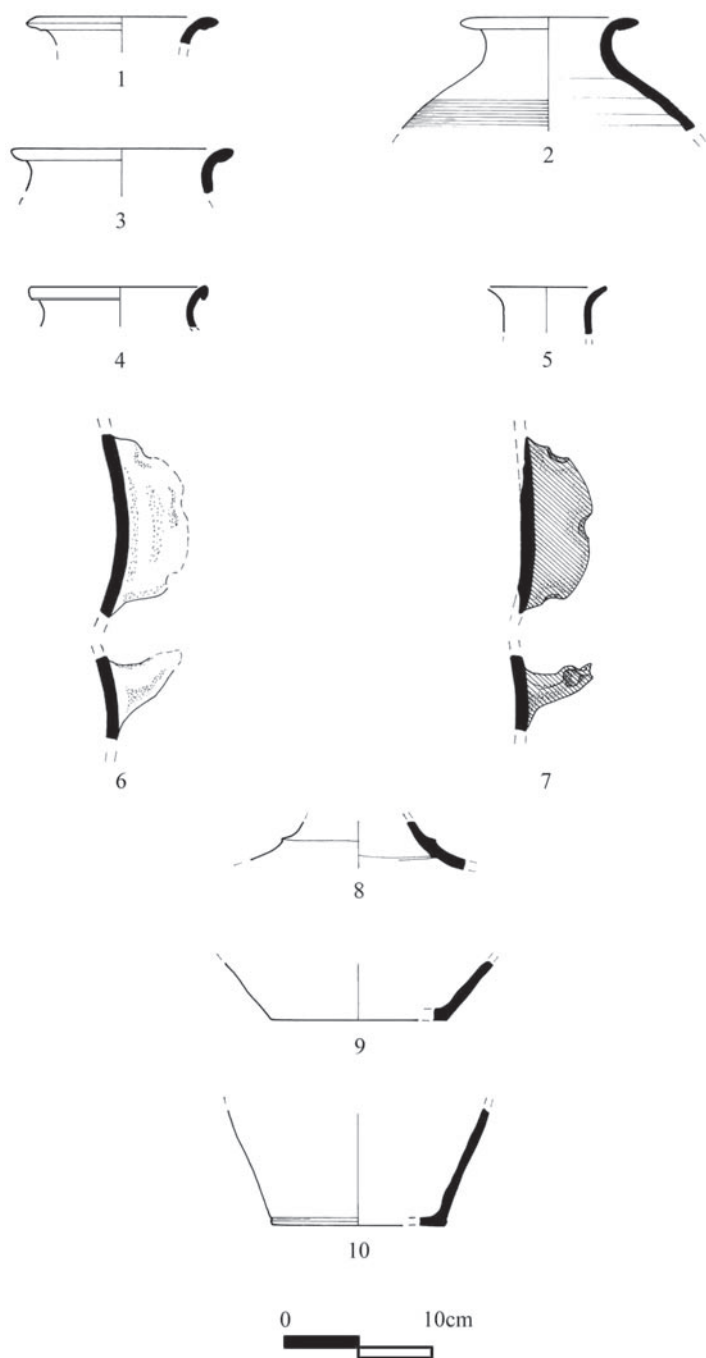


Figure 13

# Boyabat-Kovuklukaya: A Bronze Age Settlement in the Central Black Sea Region, Turkey

Ş. DÖNMEZ

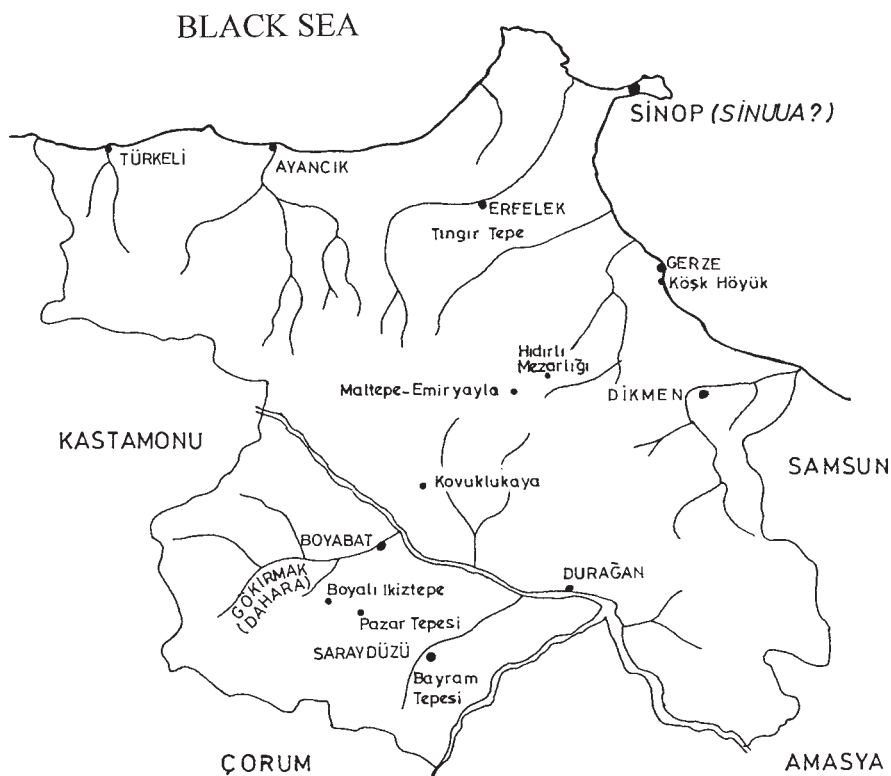
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## Abstract

*Kovuklukaya, an ancient mound site, is located some 10 km from the town of Boyabat in province of Sinop, northern Turkey. Discovered in the summer of 2002, it was excavated in a rescue operation on behalf of the Sinop Museum. Of the seven soundings and two trenches, the most interesting finds were uncovered in Sounding 5. There a building and its content provided important information pertaining to the prehistory of the Black Sea region during the period from the last quarter of third millennium BC to the first quarter of second millennium BC. A small scale step-trench in Sounding 7 at Kovuklukaya and four building levels spanning the Late Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age II periods. A Byzantine graveyard was located at the top of the site, and finds of Early Phase of Late Iron Age were also found. Most importantly the settlement at Kovuklukaya has revealed the continuity between the Late Chalcolithic to the Middle Bronze Age I-II, the so-called "Transitional Period" at Bafra-İkiztepe.*

Kovuklukaya is located 300 m north-east of Çulhalı Village, 10 km from the town of Boyabat in Sinop Province (see Map), and was found during a survey I carried out in the area.<sup>1</sup> It is positioned on the eastern slopes of a rock cliff about 25 m high called Aslancevizi Mevkii. It is about 300 x 400 m in dimension and is known as Kovuklukaya (Figs 1 and 2) because of a

<sup>1</sup> This work was supported by the Research Fund of Istanbul University. Project No. T-369:190397.



Map. The Settlements and Cemeteries of Sinop Province

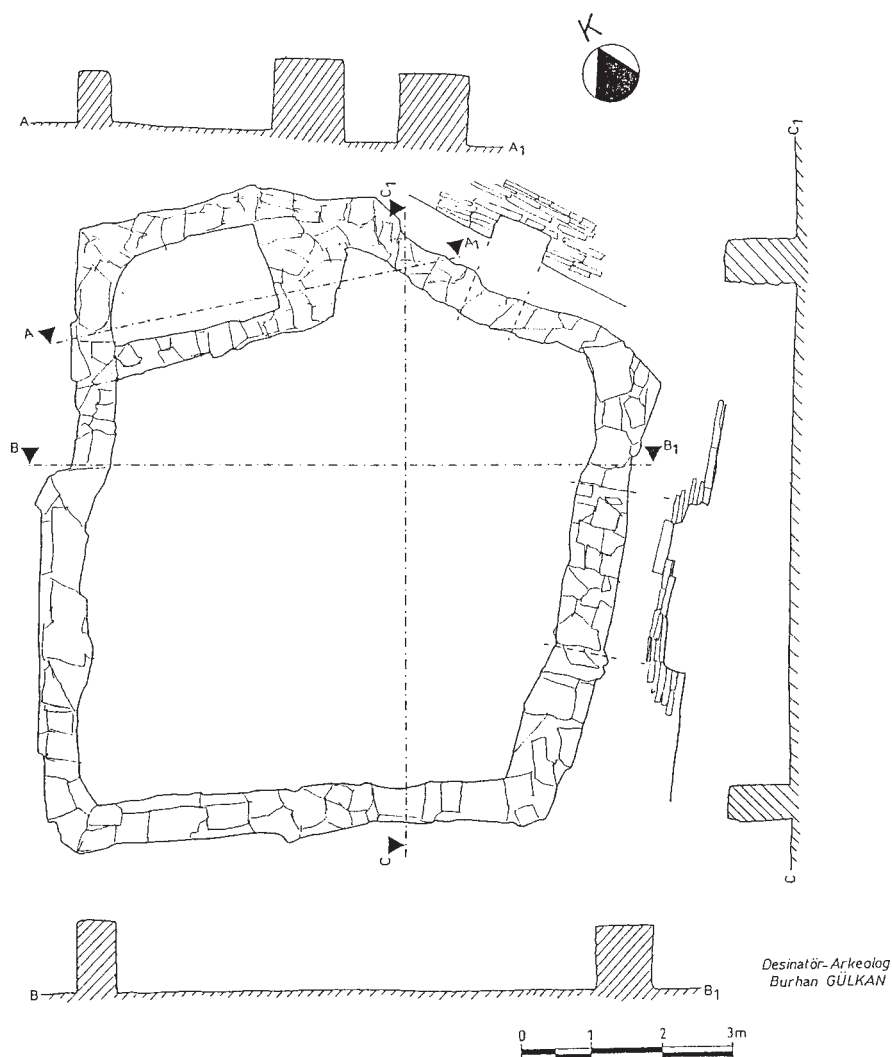
niche 1.50 x 1.70 x 1.20 m at the top of the rocky cliff (Kovuklukaya means “Rock with a niche”). The top part of Kovuklukaya, which is flat and measures about 70 x 80 metres, was used as a graveyard (Fig. 3) in the Byzantine Period.

In summer 2002, during the construction of the new highway (Fig. 4), a rescue excavation was carried out at Kovuklukaya on behalf of the Sinop Museum. I was invited to take part in this Boyabat-Kovuklukaya rescue excavation (see Map) that was carried out under the supervision of Musa Özcan, the current director of Sinop Museum. During the excavation a total of seven soundings and two trenches were opened up on the western side of the site. The most interesting finds were uncovered in Sounding 5. The building with stone slab walls (Figs 5 and 6), pottery sherds and small objects provided important information about the period from the last quarter of third millennium B.C. to the first quarter of second millennium

B.C. in the Sinop Province. This building is roughly pentagon in shape, 7.00 x 8.00 m in dimension and has two phases (see **Plan 1**). The Early Phase of the building is represented by approximately 0.40 m of debris. Hand-made Early Bronze Age III pottery sherds were taken from this debris. In the Late Phase, *i.e.* the second phase, which is represented by about 0.50 m of debris, we uncovered Early Bronze Age type pottery sherds, similar to the Early Phase examples, together with wheel-made and higher quality sherds dating to the Middle Bronze Age (**Pls 1–5**). The Early Phase of the building had two entrances. The main entrance to the building was an opening approximately 2 m wide in the east wall (see **Plan 1**; **Fig. 7**). The Second entrance was on the north wall and the opening was about 1 m wide (see **Plan 1**; **Fig. 8**). During the Late Phase both entrances were closed and a small storage construction (approximately 2 x 1.50 m) (**Fig. 6**) was added to the north-west corner of the building. We think that the entrance to the building in the Late Phase was via the large flat area that was built over a wall to the east of this storage construction (see **Plan 1**). Based on archaeological research carried out so far, it had been concluded that stone had only a minimal use in architecture in the Black Sea Region before the Classical Period. However this structure shows that, at least in this area, stone was used extensively, even though it does not alter the overall situation.

In the above mentioned, Late Phase debris of the building in Sounding 5 we found some typical wheel-made potsherds dating to early second millennium B.C. (**Pl. 5:1–7**) and, more importantly, some hand-made Early Bronze Age type sherds (**Pls 1:1–6**; **2:1–6**; **3:1–6**; **4:1–6**) were found together with the wheel-made ones. All the Early Bronze Age pottery in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya is hand-made. It is clear that Early Bronze Age type pottery continued to be produced in Middle Bronze Age I–II at Kovuklukaya. The paste of this pottery has organic and mineral temper; some of the pieces are carefully made and hard-fired. Most of this pottery was slipped in the same colour as the paste, but the potsherds vary in colour shades according to different firing temperatures. The surface colours vary from light grey to reddish brown and from light orange to dark buff (see Catalogue). The interior and exterior surfaces of the sherds are usually of the same colour. The outer surface of most of the Early Bronze Age type pottery is burnished, while sometimes both the interior and exterior are burnished. Most of the potsherds are undecorated, but occasionally decorated with a groove (**Pl. 4:1–2**) or relief decoration (**Pl. 4:2**). Most of the bowls have inverted rims (**Pl. 1:1–2**), some are carinated (**Pl. 2:1, 3, 6**), others have straight rims (**Pl. 2:2**) or vertical knobs (**Pl. 1:3**). This pottery form





Plan 1. The Building in the Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya

has both horizontal (Pl. 1:4-5) and vertical handles (Pls 1:6, 2:3-5). Jugs seldom have inverted rims (Pl. 3:1), most have a clearly defined neck and everted rims (Pl. 3:2-6). From the sherds with handles, it is apparent that both vertical (Pl. 4:3, 6) and horizontal (Pl. 4:4-5) handles were used on jugs. Generally, this pottery type closely resembles the end of the Early

Bronze Age II or beginning of Early Bronze Age III pottery at Bafrakiztepe<sup>2</sup> and Samsun-Dündartepe.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the wheel-made pottery from the Late Phase of the Kovuklukaya building ranges from light orange to various hues of buff and even shades of brick red in colour, while fine vegetal and fine mineral inclusions consist of sand and small stones (see *Catalogue*) and is well-fired. Bowls and jugs are common forms of this type of pottery. The bowls usually have inverted rims and are lipped (Pl. 5:1–5). One of the characteristics of second millennium BC pottery, the bead rim (Pl. 5:4), is also seen at Kovuklukaya. Most of the jugs found at Kovuklukaya have thick rims (Pl. 5:6–7).

Similar Early Bronze Age type pottery to that found in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya can be seen at:

- İkitzepe, Mound I First (I) Cultural Layer<sup>4</sup>
- *Hattush*-Boğazköy, North-west Slope, 9a Building Level<sup>5</sup>
- *Hattush*-Boğazköy-Büyükale, Ve<sup>6</sup> and Vc<sup>7</sup> building levels
- Alaca Höyük, Second (II) Cultural Layer<sup>8</sup>
- Karum of *Kanish*-Kultepe, Fourth (IV) Building Level<sup>9</sup>
- Bademağacı<sup>10</sup>
- the Early Bronze Age III building levels of Ahlatlıbel<sup>11</sup> and Polatlı.<sup>12</sup>

Similar examples to the wheel-made ones can be seen at:

- İkitzepe Mound I First (I) Cultural Layer<sup>13</sup>
- *Hattush*-Boğazköy, North-west Slope 9a building level<sup>14</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, pp. 92–95; Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 2003, pp. 18–22.

<sup>3</sup> Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945, pp. 369–378; Özgüç 1948, pp. 398–404.

<sup>4</sup> Pl. 1:3 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 2003, Lev. LXXI:7; Pl. 2:2 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. XI:2; Pl. 3:1 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. XXII:1; Pl. 4:1–2 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. XVII:1–7.

<sup>5</sup> Pl. 1:1 = Fischer 1963, Taf. 11:137; Pl. 1:2 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 11:81, 20:181; Pl. 1:4 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 2:101; Pl. 1:5 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 12:103; Pl. 1:6 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 8:26; Pl. 2:6 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 11:82; Pl. 3:1 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 15:152; Pl. 3:2 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 13:125; Pl. 3:3 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 15:140; Pl. 3:4 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 23:213; Pl. 3:5 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 19:144; Pl. 3:6 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 14:138; Pl. 4:5 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 13:127.

<sup>6</sup> Pl. 2:2 = Orthmann 1984, Abb. 2:30; Pl. 3:2 = Orthmann 1984, Abb. 2:32.

<sup>7</sup> Pl. 1:2 = Orthmann 1984, Abb. 10:84; Pl. 1:5 = Fischer 1963, Taf. 5:67; Pl. 3:4 = Orthmann 1984, Abb. 10:93; Pl. 4:6 = Fischer 1963, Taf. 7:83.

<sup>8</sup> Pl. 2:4 = Orthmann 1963a, Taf. 43–11:42.

<sup>9</sup> Pl. 1:5 = Emre 1989, fig. AII:2/.

<sup>10</sup> Pl. 2:1 = Umurtak 2003, fig. 1:9.

<sup>11</sup> Pl. 2:4 = Orthmann 1963a, Taf. 24–5:44; Pl. 2:5 = Orthmann 1963a, Taf. 24–5:45.

<sup>12</sup> Pl. 2:3 = Orthmann 1963a, Taf. 37–8:62.

<sup>13</sup> Pl. 5:1=Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. III:2; Pl. 5:4 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. III:3–6; Pl. 5:5 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. VI:5; Pl. 5:6 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. VII:12; Pl. 5:7 = Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, Lev. IX:3–5.

<sup>14</sup> Pl. 5:2 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 17:17; Pl. 5:4 = Orthmann 1963b, Taf. 12:92.

- *Hattush*-Boğazköy-Büyükale, building levels Vd<sup>15</sup> and Vc<sup>16</sup>
- Karum of *Kanish*-Kultepe Fourth (IV) building level<sup>17</sup>

In the Late Phase of building in Sounding 5, the wheel-made pottery of second millennium and hand-made pottery of the Early Bronze Age were found together and especially show close parallels to İkiztepe First (I) Cultural Layer<sup>18</sup>, which is dated to 2100–1750 B. C., *i.e.* the Transitional Period (Middle Bronze Age I–II).<sup>19</sup> This cultural cohesion and similarity in the pottery indicate that both settlements could be contemporary.

When a general analysis of the wheel-made pottery from the Late Phase building in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya is made, similar examples can easily be found among contemporary pottery from settlements found during surveys in the Samsun and Amasya provinces<sup>20</sup>:

- Dündartepe, Third (III) Cultural Layer<sup>21</sup>
- Tekkeköy
- Maşat Höyük, Fifth (V) Building Level<sup>22</sup>
- Büyükkale Vf–a<sup>23</sup>, North-west Slope 8a–9a<sup>24</sup>
- and Lower City 4–5<sup>25</sup> at *Hattush*-Boğazköy
- Alaca Höyük

<sup>15</sup> Pl. 5:2 = Orthmann 1984, Abb. 3:38.

<sup>16</sup> Pl. 5:3 = Orthmann 1984, Abb. 10:86.

<sup>17</sup> Pl. 5:1 = Emre 1989, fig. AII:10.

<sup>18</sup> A fast potter's wheel was used in the production of pottery at İkiztepe in the second millennium B.C. The paste of the pottery is clean with fine mineral and (more rarely) fine vegetal tempers. It is generally well or reasonably well-slipped. Hard or moderately fired vessels have colours ranging from light orange to dark beige. These attributes separate these vessels from the Early Bronze Age examples. In this period, we see only a few different pottery types. Plates, bowls, beakers, teapots, ewers and jugs are quite common forms in this period. The handles and mouths of Middle Bronze Age pottery vessels are quite different from Early Bronze Age pottery. These vessels have lips and horizontal triangular handles. Another peculiarity of the vessels of this period is that they have lots of concentric traces on their flat bases, which show that they were cut from the potter's wheel with string. In addition, an important feature of these Middle Bronze Age vessels at İkiztepe is that none of them have any decoration. (Alkım 1979, p. 153, Res. 5–15; Alkım 1981, pp. 1–3, Res. 2; Alkım 1983, pp. 166–171, Lev. I:1–5, II:1–3; Alkım 1984, pp. 46–47, Res. 1–2; Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 1988, pp. 22–30, 89–91, Lev. I–IX, XLIV–XLVII, LXVII:21–23, XCII:153–155a, XCIII:158, pp. 161–162; Bilgi 1998, p. 64; Bilgi 1999a, p. 143, Çiz. 3:A 1–3; Bilgi 1999b, p. 172, Çiz. 2:A 1–2; Müller-Karpe 2001, pp. 430–442; Alkım, Alkım and Bilgi 2003, pp. 13–17, 43–45, 87–90, 117).

<sup>19</sup> The Transition Period *i.e.* First (I) Cultural Layer at İkiztepe covers the Transition Period from third millennium B.C. to the first half of second millennium B.C. The First (I) Cultural Layer at İkiztepe consists of six architectural levels.

<sup>20</sup> Dönmez 2002a, pp. 873–903; Dönmez 2002b, pp. 243–293.

<sup>21</sup> Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945, pp. 382–384; Özgüç 1948, p. 408.

<sup>22</sup> Özgüç 1982, p. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Orthmann 1963a, Abb. 3; Orthmann 1984, Abb. 1, 3–4, 10–11.

<sup>24</sup> Schirmer 1969, Taf. 21–29.

<sup>25</sup> Fischer 1963, Taf. 51, 60, 92, 97:884.

- *Karum Kanish-Kültepe*, IV, III<sup>26</sup>, II and Ib<sup>27</sup> building levels
- *Ankuwa?-Alişar Höyük*, 11T<sup>28</sup>
- Polatlı
- Ahlatlıbel
- Beycesultan
- Yumuktepe

Early Bronze Age type pottery sherds from the Late Phase of the building have both vertical<sup>29</sup> (Pl. 4:3, 6) and horizontal handles (Pl. 4:4-5)<sup>30</sup> and close parallels to these can be found in large quantities at surveyed settlements in the Sinop Province.

In the light of the above-mentioned similarities, we can date the Kovuklukaya building from late third millennium B. C. to eighth century B. C. In keeping with this, the pottery from the Late Phase of the building shows strong similarities to İkiztepe First (I) Cultural Layer and Central Anatolia but due to regional characteristics there are also some variations.

In addition to pottery, we also found stone (Pl. 6:1; Fig. 9:1) and baked clay, metal casting moulds (Pls 7:1, 8:1-2; Fig. 9:2-4), baked clay crucibles (Pl. 9:2-3; Fig. 9:5-6), a tuyere (Pl. 9:1; Fig. 9:7), lots of pounding stones (Pl. 10:1-4) and baked clay spindle whorls (Pl. 9:4-5) in the late phase debris of the Kovuklukaya building. A stone mould that was made of olivine basalt is rectangular in shape and has three sides (Pl. 6:1, Fig. 9:1). One of the sides was for a flat axe, the second for an arrowhead and the third was used to produce a chisel or *gouge*. This three-sided usage is unique and not previously seen in Anatolia. Similar examples to the flat axe mould were found at İkiztepe Mound I Second (II) Cultural Layer<sup>31</sup> and Norşun Tepe Nineteenth Building Level<sup>32</sup> and dated to Early Bronze Age III.

The arrowhead mould of this stone is also unique, although one arrowhead very similar to this one was found at Düdartepe Third (III) Cultural Layer<sup>33</sup> and is dated to Middle Bronze Age I-II. Other moulds are made of

<sup>26</sup> Emre 1963, pp. 87-99; Emre 1989, fig. 111-128.

<sup>27</sup> Emre 1963, pp. 87-99; Özgüç 1986, pp. 49-53.

<sup>28</sup> Osten 1937, pp. 209-271.

<sup>29</sup> Similar handles have been found at Çimbeek Tepe (Işın 1998, pl. 9:21), Maltepe-Emirayla (Işın 1998, pl. 18:19, 21) and Altınkaşı Höyük (Işın 1998, pl. 21:5-6).

<sup>30</sup> This type handles have been obtained at Mezarlık Tepe (Işın 1998, pls 5:7, 6:8-10, 12), Köşk Höyük (Işın 1998, pl. 10:8), Çindilli Tepe (Işın 1998, pl. 13:19-24), Gavur Tepe (Işın 1998, pl. 14:3, 8), Tıngıroğlu Tepesi (Işın 1998, pl. 16:10), Keçi Türbesi Höyüğü (Işın 1998, pl. 17:4), Maltepe-Emirayla (Işın 1998, pl. 18:19, 21), Kadı Mezarı (Işın 1998, pl. 19:4), Kargola Tepesi (Işın 1998, pl. 22:4) and Karamkuru Tepesi (Işın 1998, pl. 25:16).

<sup>31</sup> Müller-Karpe 1994, Taf. 24:2.

<sup>32</sup> Schmidt 2002, Taf. 41:52.

<sup>33</sup> Kökten, Özgüç and Özgüç 1945, Lev. IX:3.

clay (Pls. 7:1, 8:1–2). The first of these is also rectangular and has moulds on all sides (Pl. 7:1; Fig. 9:2). Two sides have flat axe moulds and the other two have chisel moulds. A close parallel to this one was found at Tel Tainat, J Phase,<sup>34</sup> also made of clay. The other two moulds were in small fragments (Pl. 8:1–2; Fig. 9:3–4) but similar to the one made of clay found at Tokat-Gevrek.<sup>35</sup> A close parallel to the baked clay tuyere (Pl. 9:1; Fig. 9:7) from Kovuklukaya comes from İkiztepe Mound I First (I) Cultural Layer.<sup>36</sup> Two crucibles found had two handles—now missing—and one had been used more than the other (Pl. 9:2; Fig. 9:6). Similar examples to this crucible were found at Alaca Höyük Second (II) Cultural Layer<sup>37</sup> and Hisarlık Tepesi-*Troya* III Building Level.<sup>38</sup> The other crucible (Pl. 9:3; Fig. 9:5) has a close parallel found at Hanönü Second (II) Cultural Layer.<sup>39</sup>

These implements that were used in cast metal production indicate that the building in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya could have been used as a kind a workshop for metal casting. However, there are some problems with this hypothesis. The presence of metal moulds and related tools and instruments alone is not sufficient to prove that a building was a workshop. There has to be evidence of melting ovens and slag ashes as well. Such ovens were found on the hill area at the top of the settlement that was used as a graveyard in the Byzantine Period, situated near to this building. There are two of these ovens, which are constructed with shaped stones; one is round in plan and the other is crescent-shaped (see Plan 3). Along with a large amount of ash, a small number of Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age pottery sherds were also found, but no slag pieces were seen in the vicinity of the ovens. However, it can be said that the implements and the building itself indicate that metals were locally produced in the period extending from the end of the third millennium B. C. to the beginning the second millennium B. C. The Kovuklukaya pottery, the metal working implements and the Hıdırlı Cemetery (Fig. 10) spearheads, javelin heads (Fig. 11) and pins clearly show that Sinop Province was part of the Assyrian colonies trade period network and that Kovuklukaya and Hıdırlı<sup>40</sup> were almost certainly important settlements on this route.

In addition to the items mentioned above, a lot of spindle whorls (Pl. 9:4–5) were found in the building in Sounding 5, which indicate the

<sup>34</sup> Müller-Karpe 1994, Taf. 22:5.

<sup>35</sup> Müller-Karpe 1994, Taf. 20:1.

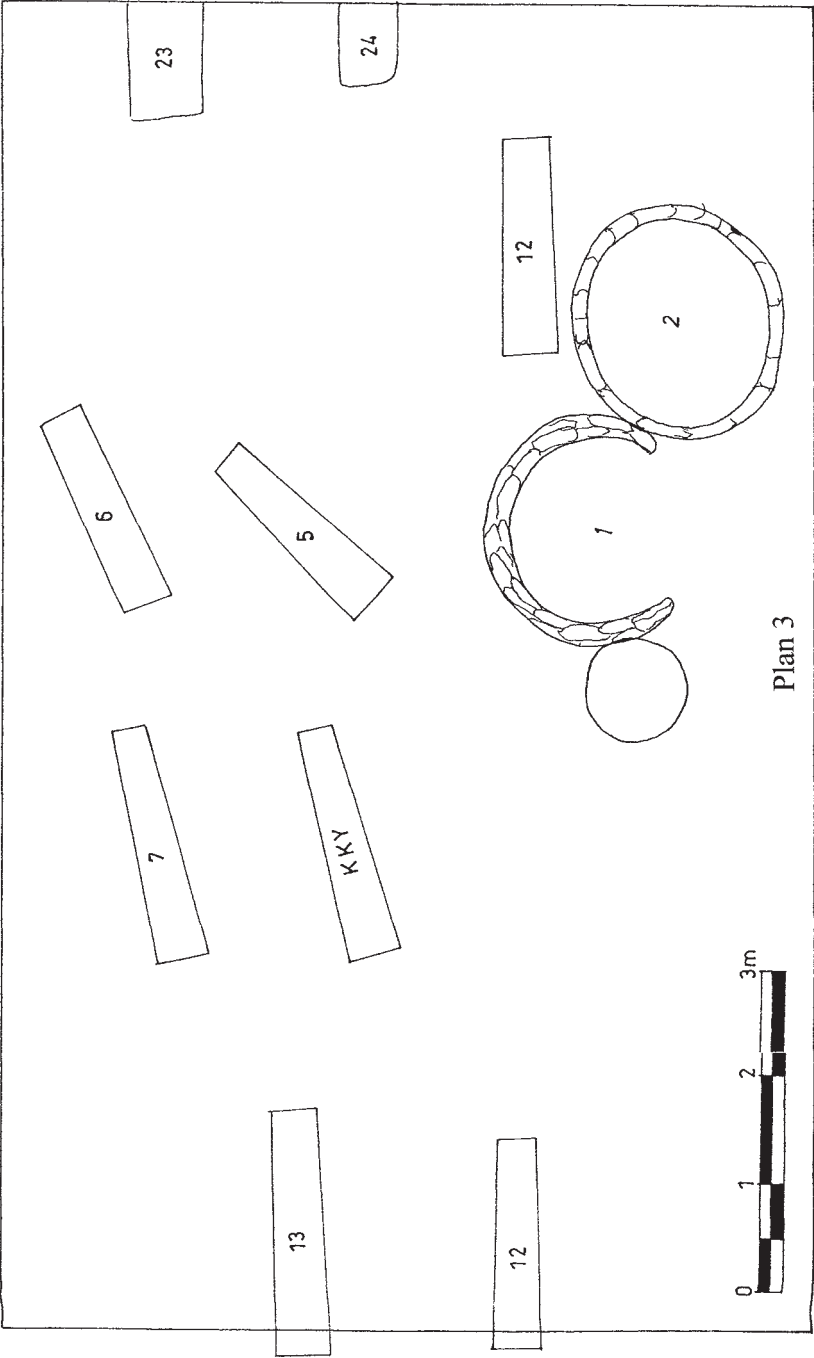
<sup>36</sup> Müller-Karpe 1994, Taf. 3:12.

<sup>37</sup> Müller-Karpe 1994, Taf. 10:12.

<sup>38</sup> Müller-Karpe 1994, Taf. 10:10.

<sup>39</sup> Müller-Karpe 1994, Taf. 11:12.

<sup>40</sup> Dönmez 2003, p. 20.



manufacture of textiles in Kovuklukaya as at Bafra-İkiztepe to the east. The spindle whorls found show a variety of sizes; they are made of baked clay and undecorated. These spindle whorls are round horizontally (Pl. 9:4) and oval vertically (Pl. 9:5) and have a centrally placed vertical perforation, indicating at the same time that they were rather roughly made. It can therefore be concluded that a more perishable material such as wood might have been used in the production of spindle whorls at Kovuklukaya and that these did not survive to the present day.

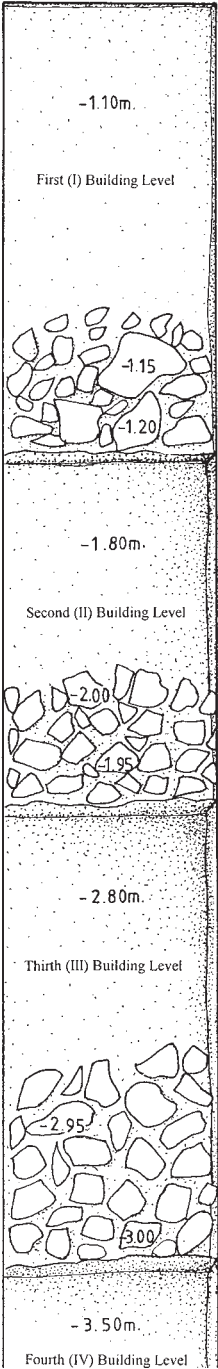
In the Early Phase of building in Sounding 5, Early Bronze Age III pottery sherds (Pls 12:1–5 and 13:1–7) were found. The paste of this Early Bronze Age III pottery had organic and mineral inclusions. The best hand-made examples have compact clay. The pottery was usually slipped in same colour as the paste and show varieties of colour according to the firing temperatures. The Early Bronze Age III pottery sherds found at Kovuklukaya, fall into two form categories: bowls (Pls 12:1–5, 13:1–2), jugs (Pl. 13:3–4) and body sherds belonging to the jugs (Pl. 13:5–7). The bowls have a rounded or flat lip and an inverted rim (Pl. 12:1–3), an inverted rim and carinated body (Pl. 12:4), an everted rim (Pl. 12:5) and ‘S’ profile (Pl. 13:1–2). One of them is decorated with incrustation (Pl. 12:3). The jug forms include a rounded lip, everted rim, very short neck and globular body (Pl. 13:3–4). The body sherds belonging to the jugs have a circular knob (Pl. 13:7) or horizontal handles (Pl. 13:5–6). The sherds found in the Early Phase of the building in Sounding 5 closely resemble the end of the Early Bronze Age II or beginning of Early Bronze Age III pottery of Bafra-İkiztepe<sup>41</sup> and Karadeniz Ereğlisi-Yassıkaya.<sup>42</sup>

A small scale step-trench excavation (see Plan 2) was carried out in Sounding 7 at Kovuklukaya and four building levels (IV–Late Chalcolithic Age, III–Early Bronze Age I, II and I–Early Bronze Age II) were determined: Levels I, II and III. With the help of the small finds, especially the pottery, it has been possible to identify settlements from the Late Chalcolithic Age to Early Bronze Age II. In other words, the results of Sounding 7 show that this site was inhabited from approximately 4500 BC to 2400 BC. Although the small finds were of some help in reaching this conclusion, the role of the analysed pottery finds was more significant. It was also determined that the terrace constructions were destroyed by fire (see Plan 2). The pottery sherds obtained from these terrace constructions are hand-made and their forms and pastes are typical Late Chalcolithic Age and Early Bronze Age I–II in type.

<sup>41</sup> Alkim, Alkim and Bilgi 1988, pp. 92–95; Alkim, Alkim and Bilgi 2003, pp. 18–22.

<sup>42</sup> Efe and Mercan 2002, pp. 364–367.

Plan 2. Four Building Levels (IV-I)  
in the Sounding 7 at Kovuklukaya





Late Chalcolithic Age, *i.e.* the Fourth (IV) Building Level, pottery (Pl. 14:1–5) is made from a paste with a large amount of particles (sometimes very small, sometimes larger in size), which are shiny and mixed with a smaller number of small white particles (calcerous) and its colours are generally various tones of greyish black and greyish brown, black and brown. It is an extremely well-prepared paste with a good texture and has a dark grey core in examples with inadequate oxidation. It is apparent that the potsherds were slipped in the same colour as the paste, but they show some colour differences due to the firing process. In other words, these variations are thought to be the result of different firing conditions. A few examples with lips were also discovered, but they have not been catalogued. Sherds with a slip, on the other hand, have been included. The Fourth (IV) Building Level pottery sherds found at Kovuklukaya fall into two form groups; bowls (Pl. 14:1) and body (Pl. 14:2–3) and handle sherds belonging to the jugs (Pl. 14:4–5). The bowls have a thin rounded lip and externally tapering rim (Pl. 14:1). The body sherds belonging to the jugs (Pl. 14:3–4) are decorated. One of them was decorated with incrustation (Pl. 14:2), the other has a horizontal lug (Pl. 14:3). The handle fragments only consist of the vertical type (Pl. 14:4–5). Two stone objects were recovered in the Fourth (IV) Building Level. Among these there is a pounding stone (Pl. 14:6) and a fragment of a limestone bracelet (Pl. 14:7). Similar bracelets were found at Çimbek Tepe<sup>43</sup> and Maltepe-Hacıoğlu<sup>44</sup> during surface surveys.

In Early Bronze Age I, *i.e.* the Third (III) Building Level, a paste with organic and mineral inclusions was used in the pottery. The forms and decorations show differences from the earlier building level, *i.e.* the Late Chalcolithic Age. It is hard to distinguish differences in the appearance of the pottery sherds because they are all made of local clay and fired in kilns under the same conditions. With very few exceptions, the exterior and interior of the sherds are of same colour. Some are darker such as black, dark grey, black-brown, and reddish-brown, while others are shades of brown-beige and beige. Only undecorated body sherds were uncovered (Pl. 15:1–5). One of these had a vertical handle (Pl. 15:5). Two bone implements were found in the Third (III) Building Level; these are burnishing tools (Pl. 15:6–7).

A paste with vegetal and mineral inclusions was used in the production of the pottery of the Early Bronze Age II, *i.e.* II–I Levels, at Kovuklukaya and this tradition was carried on into the Early Bronze Age III and Middle

<sup>43</sup> Işın 1998, pl. 8:13–15, 24.

<sup>44</sup> Doonan, Gantos, Hiebert, Yayıoğlu and Besonen 2001, fig. 8.

Bronze Age I–II periods. The Second (II) Building Level pottery found at Kovuklukaya falls into two form categories; a jug (Pl. 16:1) and body (Pl. 16:2) and handle sherds belonging to jugs (Pl. 16:3). The jug has a rounded lip and inverted rim with twin lugs (Pl. 16:1). The body sherd belongs to a jug (Pl. 16:2) and has incised decoration. The body sherd with a handle is of vertical type only (Pl. 16:3). The pottery of the First (I) Building Level includes bowls (Pl. 17:1–2), jugs (Pl. 17:3–4) and body sherds with vertical (Pl. 17:5, 7) and horizontal handle (Pl. 17:6) types. The bowls have a rounded lip and an inverted rim (Pl. 17:1) sometimes have a vertical handle (Pl. 17:2). The jugs have a rounded lip and an inverted rim (Pl. 17:3), a thin rounded lip, an everted rim, a very short neck and a globular body (Pl. 17:4).

Four (IV–I) building levels were uncovered in this trench and the pottery closely resembles that of the Bafra-İkiztepe and Karadeniz Ereğlisi-Yassıkaya cultures.

The area at the top of Kovuklukaya, measuring approximately 70 x 80 m was used as a graveyard (Fig. 3) in the Byzantine Period. Thirty-six burials in simple rectangular pits in ground and stone sarcophagia were uncovered in this area. The circular and crescent-shaped stone kilns were found in the southern part of the graveyard area probably date to the Early Bronze Age.

In addition to these finds, a sieve-spouted jug sherd (Pl. 11:1) decorated in white panel technique and dated to the Early Phase of Late Iron Age<sup>45</sup> (650–500 BC) was found at the top of Kovuklukaya in the Byzantine Period graveyard area. This sieve-spouted jug sherd bears close resemblance to the Sinop pitchers found in the 1950s.<sup>46</sup> Another pitcher sherd (Pl. 11:2) from Kovuklukaya could be dated to the Late Phase of the Late Iron Age<sup>47</sup> (500–330 BC). If these two groups of finds are analysed together in the light of current archaeological knowledge, there is indisputable evidence of the existence of Early Iron Age settlement in Sinop Province.

In conclusion, the continuity of settlement at Kovuklukaya from the Late Chalcolithic Age to the Middle Bronze Age I–II, *i.e.* the “Transitional Period”, as at Bafra-İkiztepe, has been established. On the basis of both the wheel-made and the Early Bronze Age type hand-made pottery, this minor settlement of the Late Phase of the building in Sounding 5 can possibly be dated to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age I–II. In Sounding 5 the pottery of Middle Bronze Age I–II type as well as of the Early Bronze Age type were uncovered side by side thus proving the continuing use of domi-

<sup>45</sup> Dönmez 2001, p. 93.

<sup>46</sup> Akurgal 1955, Taf. 33; Akurgal and Budde 1956, Taf. III:a–d.

<sup>47</sup> Dönmez 2001, p. 94.

nant pottery types of the Early Bronze Age during the ‘Transitional Period’. The Middle Bronze Age I–II pottery from the Late Phase of the building in Sounding 5 shows similarities in both manufacture and typology to that of contemporary levels at Dündartepe, Tekkeköy, *Tapigga*-Maşat Höyük, *Hattush*/Boğazköy, Alaca Höyük, *Karum Kanesh*-Kültepe, *Ankuwa?*-Alishar Höyük, Polatlı, Ahlatlıbel, Beycesultan and Yumuktepe. In Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya pottery of Early Bronze Age type from the late phase of the building was uncovered together with second millennium BC, wheel-made sherds like those from Bafra-İkiztepe. The Early Bronze III pottery from the early phase of the building in Sounding 5 and the Early Bronze Age II pottery from Sounding 7 at Kovuklukaya both correspond to contemporary levels at Karadeniz Ereğlisi-Yassıkaya, Dündartepe, Kavak-Kaledoruğu, Tekkeköy and especially Bafra-İkiztepe. The Early Bronze Age I and Late Chalcolithic Age pottery from Sounding 7 resembles the pottery of Kocagöz Höyük, Bafra-İkiztepe and Dündartepe. It was concluded that virgin soil had been reached in Sounding 7 and research at this Sounding was terminated.

The upper levels of Kovuklukaya, such as the one representing the Iron Age, have been eroded either by the destruction of man (several cm of earth is being ploughed away each year) or by natural forces (wind, rain, and floods).

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### Catalogue

**Plate 1:1.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 28 cm, H. 9.2 cm, W. 14.2 cm, Th. 1 cm. Light orange paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. Hard fired. Moderately burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 1:2.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 22 cm, H. 5.1 cm, W. 8.5 cm, Th. 1 cm. Reddish brown paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 1:3.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 18 cm, H. 3.5 cm, W. 6.7 cm, Th. 0.6 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Decoration on the outside of vertical knob. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 1:4.** Bowl rim sherd with horizontal handle. D. 23 cm, H. 6.2 cm, W. 7 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Light brick red paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 1:5.** Bowl rim sherd with horizontal handle. D. 22 cm, H. 6.9 cm, W. 8.5 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Brick red paste. Fine and medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 1:6.** Bowl rim sherd with vertical handle. D. 20 cm, H. 8 cm, W. 12 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 2:1.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 16 cm, H. 7 cm, W. 11.2 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. Brick red paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 2:2.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 16.8 cm, H. 5.4 cm, W. 6.4 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 2:3.** Bowl rim sherd with vertical handle. D. 26 cm, H. 8 cm, W. 8.4 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium and coarse organic and medium and coarse mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I-II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 2:4.** Bowl rim sherd with vertical handle. D. 24 cm, H. 4.9 cm, W. 3.8 cm, Th. 1 cm. Grey paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in light buff. Moderate fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 2:5.** Bowl rim sherd with vertical handle. D. 28 cm, H. 8 cm, W. 6.2 cm, Th. 1 cm. Reddish brown paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 2:6.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 24 cm, H. 5 cm, W. 7.3 cm, Th. 0.6 cm. Reddish brown paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 3:1.** Jug rim sherd. D. 22 cm, H. 4.5 cm, W. 5.3 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. Buff paste. Fine organic and fine and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in dark buff. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 3:2.** Jug rim sherd. D. 22.2 cm, H. 3.8 cm, W. 5.4 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Brick red paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 3:3.** Jug rim sherd. D. 30 cm, H. 4.2 cm, W. 7.5 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Light orange paste. Fine and medium organic and fine medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 3:4.** Jug rim sherd. D. 27 cm, H. 5.3 cm, W. 5.1 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Light buff paste. Fine organic and fine and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 3:5.** Jug rim sherd. A. Çağı 16 cm, H. 3.6 cm, W. 3.8 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 3:6.** Jug rim sherd. D. 30 cm, H. 5.4 cm, W. 11.8 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine and medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 4:1.** Jug body sherd. H. 4.5 cm, W. 5.5 cm, Th. 1 cm. Light grey paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. Moderate fired.

No burnish. Hand-made. Decoration on the outside in groove. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 4:2.** Jug body sherd. H. 5.7 cm, W. 7.4 cm, Th. 1.4 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium and coarse organic and medium and coarse mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Decorations on the outside in groove and knob. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 4:3.** Jug body sherd with vertical handle. H. 9.8 cm, W. 7 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and fine and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 4:4.** Jug body sherd with horizontal handle. H. 7 cm, W. 10.5 cm, Th. 1 cm. Buff paste. Fine organic and fine and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 4:5.** Jug body sherd with horizontal handle. H. 8.6 cm, W. 9.6 cm, Th. 1 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 4:6.** Jug body sherd with vertical handle. H. 7.1 cm, W. 3.5 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium organic and fine and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 5:1.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 17 cm, H. 4 cm, W. 5.9 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Light orange paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in reddish brown. Hard fired. Moderately burnished. Wheel-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 5:2.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 28 cm, H. 5 cm, W. 8, Th. 0.8 cm. Light orange paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Wheel-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 5:3.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 28.1 cm, H. 4.6 cm, W. 8.2 cm, Th. 1 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Wheel-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 5:4.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 27 cm, H. 3.5 cm, W. 11 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. Light orange paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in dark buff. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Wheel-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.



**Plate 5:5.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 29 cm, H. 4.1 cm, W. 8.4 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Light orange paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Wheel-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 5:6.** Jug rim sherd. D. 38 cm, H. 6.3 cm, W. 9.6 cm, Th. 2.5 cm. Light brick red paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. No burnish. Wheel-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 5:7.** Jug body sherd. H. 5.7 cm, W. 8.5 cm, Th. 2.2 cm. Light buff paste. Fine and medium organic and fine and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. No burnish. Wheel-made. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 6:1.** Mould fragment. Olivine basalt. Dark green. L. 20.2 cm, H. 12.1 cm, W. 11.4 cm, Th. 9.6 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya (Fig. 9:1).

**Plate 7:1.** Mould fragment. Baked clay. Dark buff paste, Medium organic and medium and coarse mineral tempered. L. 12.2 cm, H. 7.9 cm, W. 9.5 cm, Th. 5.5 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya (Fig. 9:2).

**Plate 8:1.** Mould fragment. Baked clay. Dark brown paste. Medium organic and medium and coarse mineral tempered. L. 8.7 cm, H. 9.2 cm, W. 10.3 cm, Th. 6.1 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya (Fig. 9:4).

**Plate 8:2.** Mould fragment. Baked clay. Dark buff paste. Medium organic and medium and coarse mineral tempered. L. 7.2 cm, H. 8 cm, W. 8.9 cm, Th. 5.1 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya (Fig. 9:3).

**Plate 9:1.** Tuyere. Baked clay. Buff paste. Fine and medium organic and fine and medium mineral tempered. L. 7.1 cm, D. 4.8 cm, Th. 1.3 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya (Fig. 9:7).

**Plate 9:2.** Crucible fragment. Baked clay. Dark brown paste. Medium organic and medium and coarse mineral tempered. W. 8.9 cm, Th. 4.3 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya (Fig. 9:6).

**Plate 9:3.** Crucible fragment. Baked clay. Dark buff paste. Medium organic and medium and coarse mineral tempered. W. 9.3 cm, Th. 2.3 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya (Fig. 9:5).

**Plate 9:4.** Spindle whorl. Baked clay. Dark brick red paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. D. 7.7 cm, H. 2.6 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 9:5.** Spindle whorl. Baked clay. Light brick red paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. D. 5.7 cm, H. 2.9 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 10:1.** Pounding stone. Buff. H. 8.8 cm, W. 9 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 10:2.** Pounding stone. Light buff. H. 7.4 cm, W. 7 cm, Th. 6.5 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 10:3.** Pounding stone. Dark grey. H. 10.1 cm, W. 6.6 cm, Th. 4.6 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 10:4.** Pounding stone. Light grey. H. 10.3 cm, W. 9.5 cm, Th. 5.1 cm. Middle Bronze Age I–II. Late Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 11:1.** Sieve-spouted jug body sherd. H. 7.5 cm, W. 6.4 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. Hard fired. Moderately burnished. Decoration on the outside in light beige and dark brown. Wheel-made. Early Phase of Late Iron Age. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 11:2.** Pitcher body sherd. H. 11.5 cm, W. 8.4 cm, Th. 0.6 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine and medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Moderately burnished. Decoration on the outside in light beige and brown. Wheel-made. Late Phase of the Late Iron Age. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 12:1.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 20.5 cm, H. 7.5 cm, W. 6.5 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Light brick red paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in dark beige. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 12:2.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 20 cm, H. 5.1 cm, W. 7.9 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in dark beige. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 12:3.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 24 cm, H. 4.2 cm, W. 5.7 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Decoration on the outside in incrustation. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 12:4.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 18 cm, H. 5 cm, W. 6.6 cm, Th. 1 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 12:5.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 30 cm, H. 5.9 cm, W. 6.9 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as

the paste. Hard fired. Moderately burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 13:1.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 5.5 cm, H. 3.4 cm, W. 3.1 cm, Th. 0.5 cm. Light grey paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in light brick red. Hard fired. No burnish. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 13:2.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 14.1 cm, H. 6.6 cm, W. 5.9 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in dark buff. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 13:3.** Jug rim sherd. D. 16.2 cm, H. 4.5 cm, W. 8.2 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in buff. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 13:4.** Jug rim sherd. D. 30 cm, H. 4.4 cm, W. 8.1 cm, Th. 1 cm. Reddish buff paste. Medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 13:5.** Body sherd with horizontal handle. H. 8.3 cm, W. 7.3 cm, Th. 1.1 cm. Yellowish buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 13:6.** Body sherd with vertical handle. H. 5.1 cm, W. 8.8 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in dark buff. Moderately fired. Moderately burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 13:7.** Body sherd. H. 3.3 cm, W. 4.4 cm, Th. 1.2 cm. Buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Poorly fired. Lightly burnished. Decoration on the outside in circular knob. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age III. Early Phase of Building in Sounding 5. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 14:1.** Jug rim sherd. D. 22 cm, H. 4.3 cm, W. 5.9 cm, Th. 1.1 cm. Buff paste. Medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Late Chalcolithic Age. Fourth (IV) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 14:2.** Body sherd. H. 4.5 cm, W. 4.1 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. Dark grey paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Well burnished. Decoration on the outside in incrustation. Hand-made. Late Chalcolithic Age. Fourth (IV) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 14:3.** Body sherd with horizontal lug. H. 4.1 cm, W. 5.1 cm, Th. 1 cm. Beige paste. Medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the

paste. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Late Chalcolithic Age. Fourth (IV) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 14:4.** Body sherd with vertical handle. H. 7.5 cm, W. 4.1 cm, Th. 1.1 cm. Light buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Late Chalcolithic Age. Fourth (IV) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 14:5.** Vertical handle sherd. H. 4.3 cm, W. 3.3 cm, Th. 1.4 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. Moderately burnished. Hand-made. Late Chalcolithic Age. Fourth (IV) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 14:6.** Grinding-stone. L. 6.7 cm, W. 5.9 cm, Th. 3.3 cm. Dark buff. Late Chalcolithic Age. Fourth (IV) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 14:7.** Bracelet fragment. Limestone. L. 3.5 cm, W. 1.4 cm, Th. 1.2 cm. Beige. Late Chalcolithic Age. Fourth (IV) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 15:1.** Body sherd. H. 5.1 cm, W. 5.9 cm, Th. 1. cm. Light brick red paste. Fine organic and medium mineral tempered. Inner surface is dark brick red outer surface is black slipped. Moderate fired. Moderately burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age I. Third (III) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 15:2.** Body sherd. H. 6.4 cm, W. 7 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Buff paste. Fine organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Poorly fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age I. Third (III) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 15:3.** Body sherd. H. 5.2 cm, W. 5.9 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Buff paste. Fine organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Hard fired. Well burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age I. Third (III) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 15:4.** Body sherd. H. 6.4 cm, W. 7 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Well fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age I. Third (III) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 15:5.** Body sherd with vertical handle. H. 5.1 cm, W. 6.2 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Brick red paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in grey. Bad fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age I. Third (III) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 15:6.** Burnishing tool. Bone. L. 11.4 cm, W. 2.8 cm, Th. 1.1 cm. Early Bronze Age I. Third (III) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 15:7.** Burnishing tool. Bone. L. 12.2 cm, W. 2.7 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Early Bronze Age I. Third (III) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 16:1.** Jug rim sherd with horizontal handle. D. 24 cm, H. 8.5 cm, W. 10 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Dark buff paste. Coarse and medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Inner surface is black outer surface is reddish brown slipped. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. Second (II) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 16:2.** Body sherd. H. 9.3 cm, W. 12.5 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. The inner surface is the same colour as the paste, the outer surface is black slipped. Hard fired. Moderately burnished. Decoration on the outside is incised. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. Second (II) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 16:3.** Body sherd with vertical handle. H. 7.2 cm, W. 8.6 cm, Th. 1 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped is same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. Second (II) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 17:1.** Bowl rim sherd. D. 20 cm, H. 4.6 cm, W. 5.3 cm, Th. 0.7 cm. Dark grey paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. First (I) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 17:2.** Bowl rim sherd with vertical handle. D. 20.1 cm, H. 5.6 cm, W. 8 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Dark grey paste. Fine organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. Moderate fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. First (I) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 17:3.** Jug rim sherd. D. 21 cm, H. 5.8 cm, W. 9.4 cm, Th. 0.9 cm. Brick red paste. Medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same colour as the paste. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. First (I) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 17:4.** Jug rim sherd. D. 20.3 cm, H. 5.3 cm, W. 6.9 cm, Th. 1.1 cm. Beige paste. Medium organic and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. Moderately fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. First (I) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 17:5.** Body sherd with vertical handle. H. 10.5 cm, W. 14.8 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Buff paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped is same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Moderately burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. First (I) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 17:6.** Body sherd with horizontal handle. H. 9.7 cm, W. 10.2 cm, Th. 1 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in light buff. Hard fired. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. First (I) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.

**Plate 17:6.** Body sherd with vertical handle. H. 7.1 cm, W. 9.6 cm, Th. 0.8 cm. Beige paste. Medium organic and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. Moderate firing. Lightly burnished. Hand-made. Early Bronze Age II. First (I) Building Level in Sounding 7. Kovuklukaya.



Fig. 1. Boyabat-Kovuklukaya from the West



Fig.2. Boyabat-Kovuklukaya and the Old Road from the North





Fig.3. The Byzantine Graveyard area at the top of Kovuklukaya



Fig. 4. Sounding 5 at Boyabat-Kovuklukaya and the New Highway



Fig. 5. The Building in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya from the East



Fig. 6. The Building in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya from the North-East





Fig. 7. Detail of the East Entrance from the Early Phase of the Building in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya



Fig. 8. Detail of the North Entrance from the Early Phase of the Building in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya

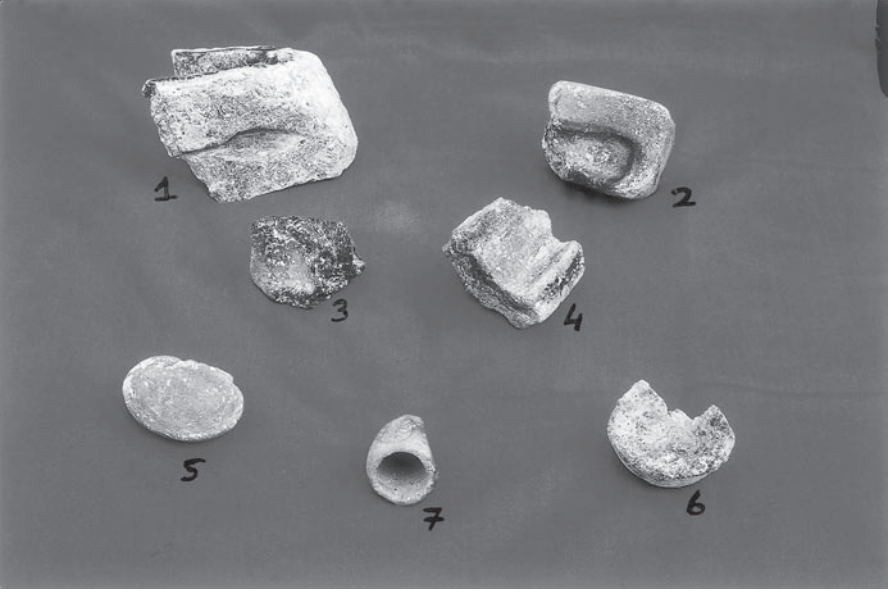


Fig. 9. Implements from the Late Phase of the Building in Sounding 5 at Kovuklukaya



Fig. 10. Gerze-Keçi Türbesi Höyük and Hıdırlı Cemetery from North-East



Fig. 11. Bronze Javelin heads from Hıdırlı Cemetery



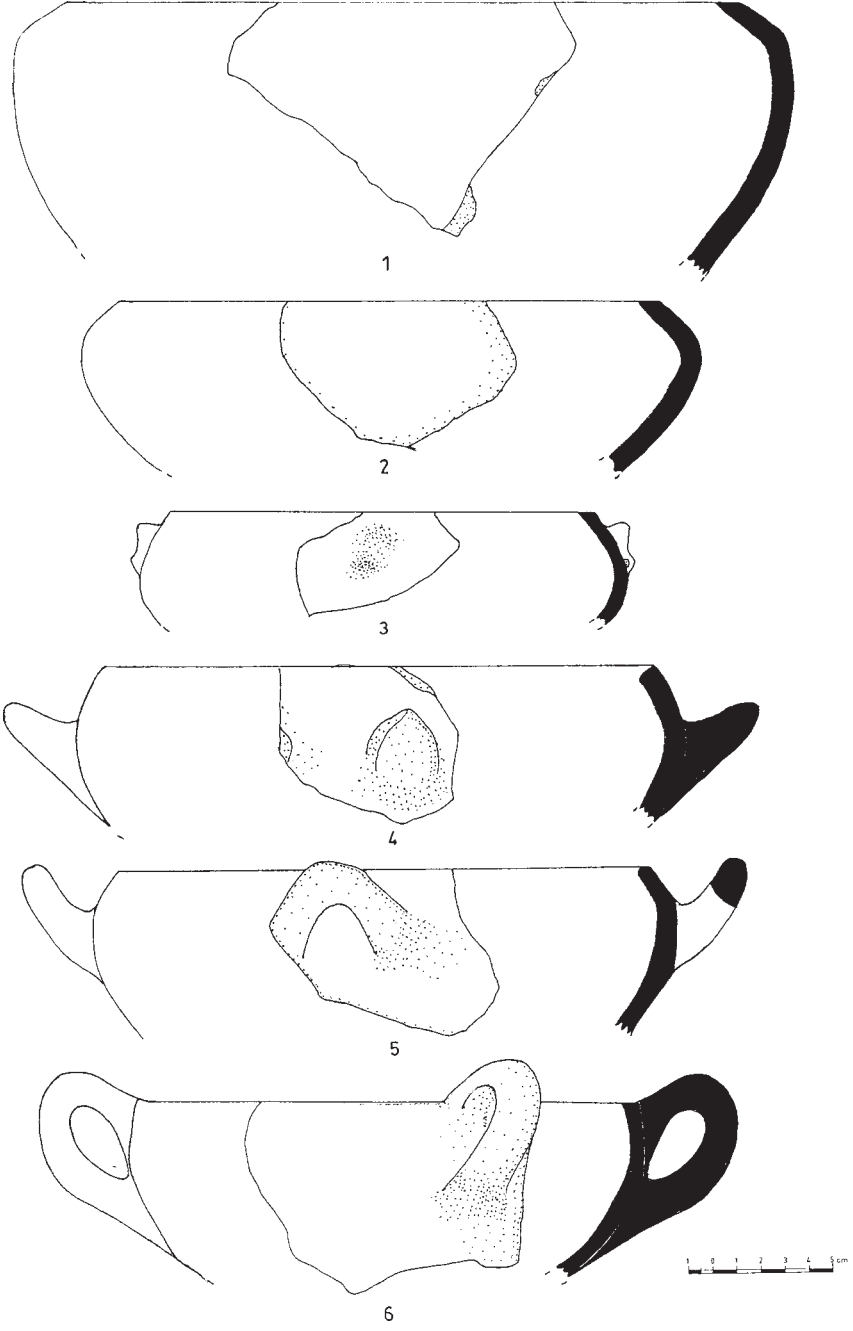


Plate I

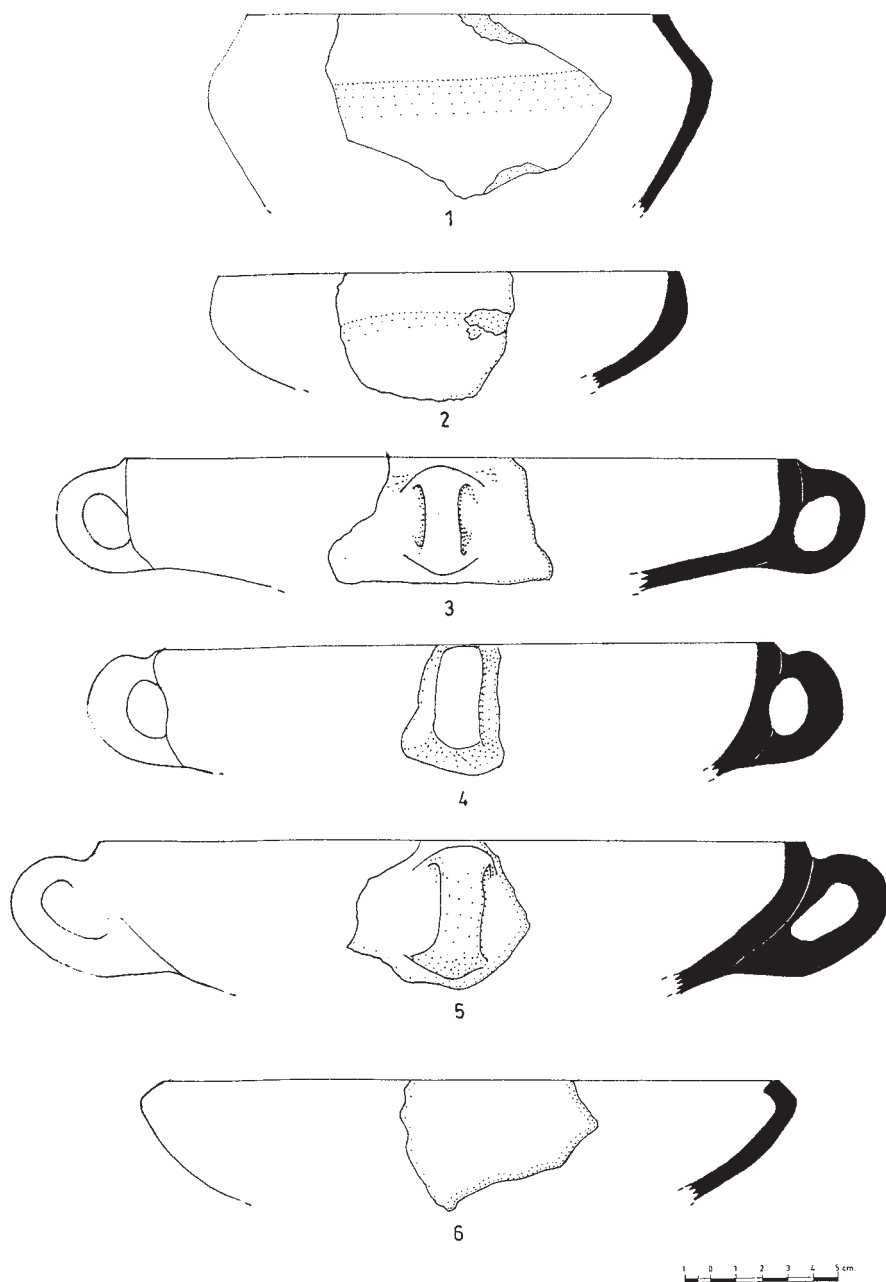


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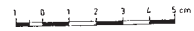
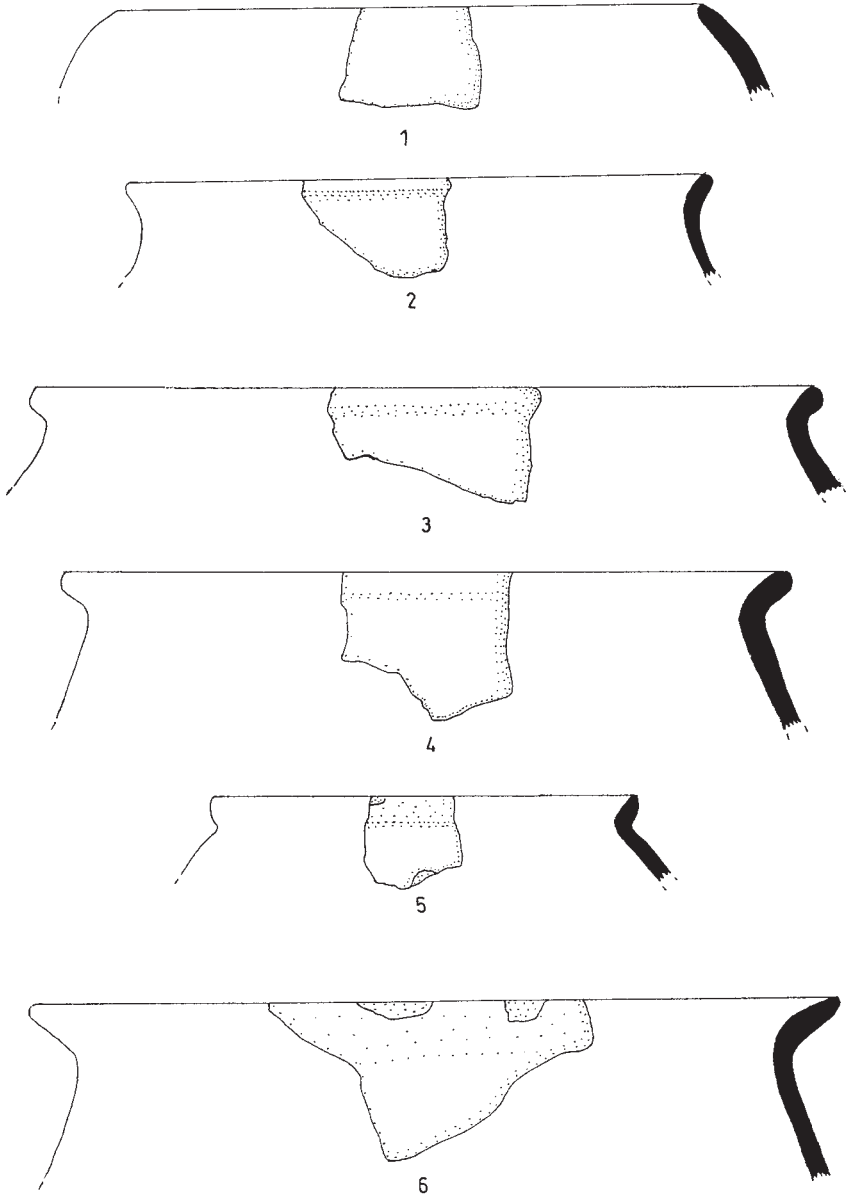


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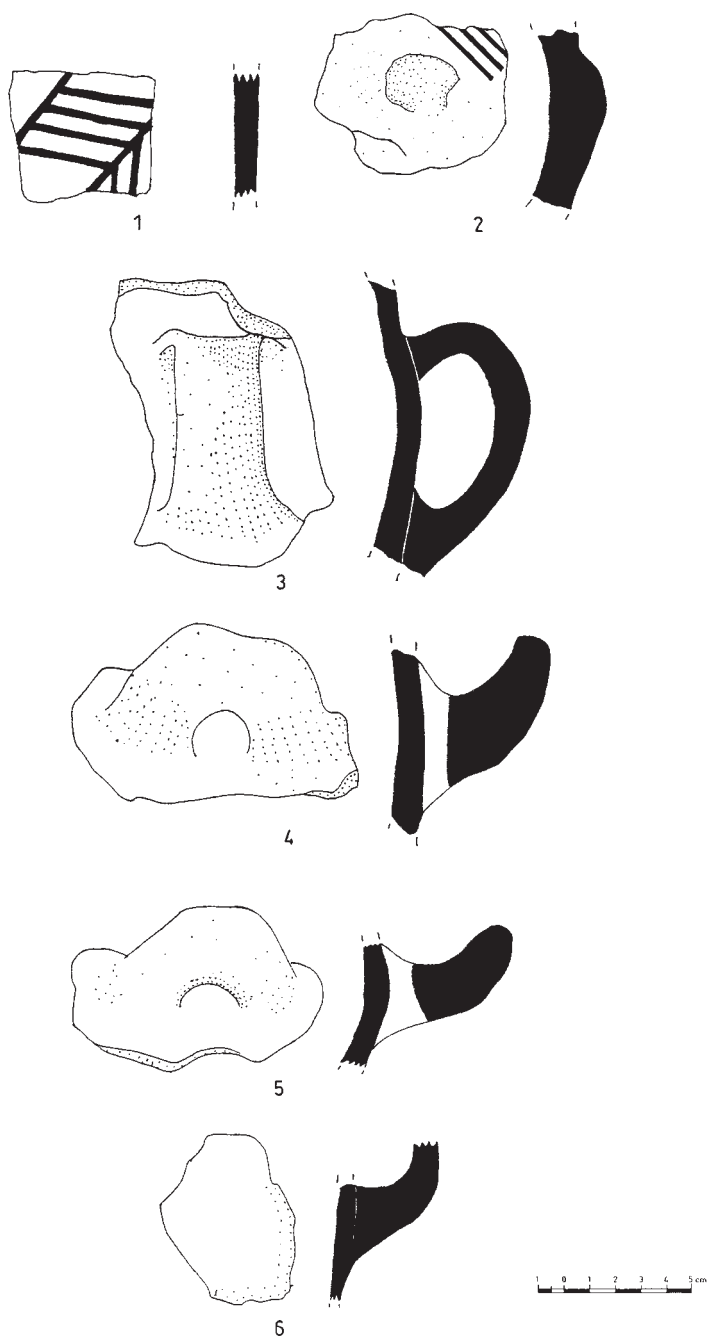


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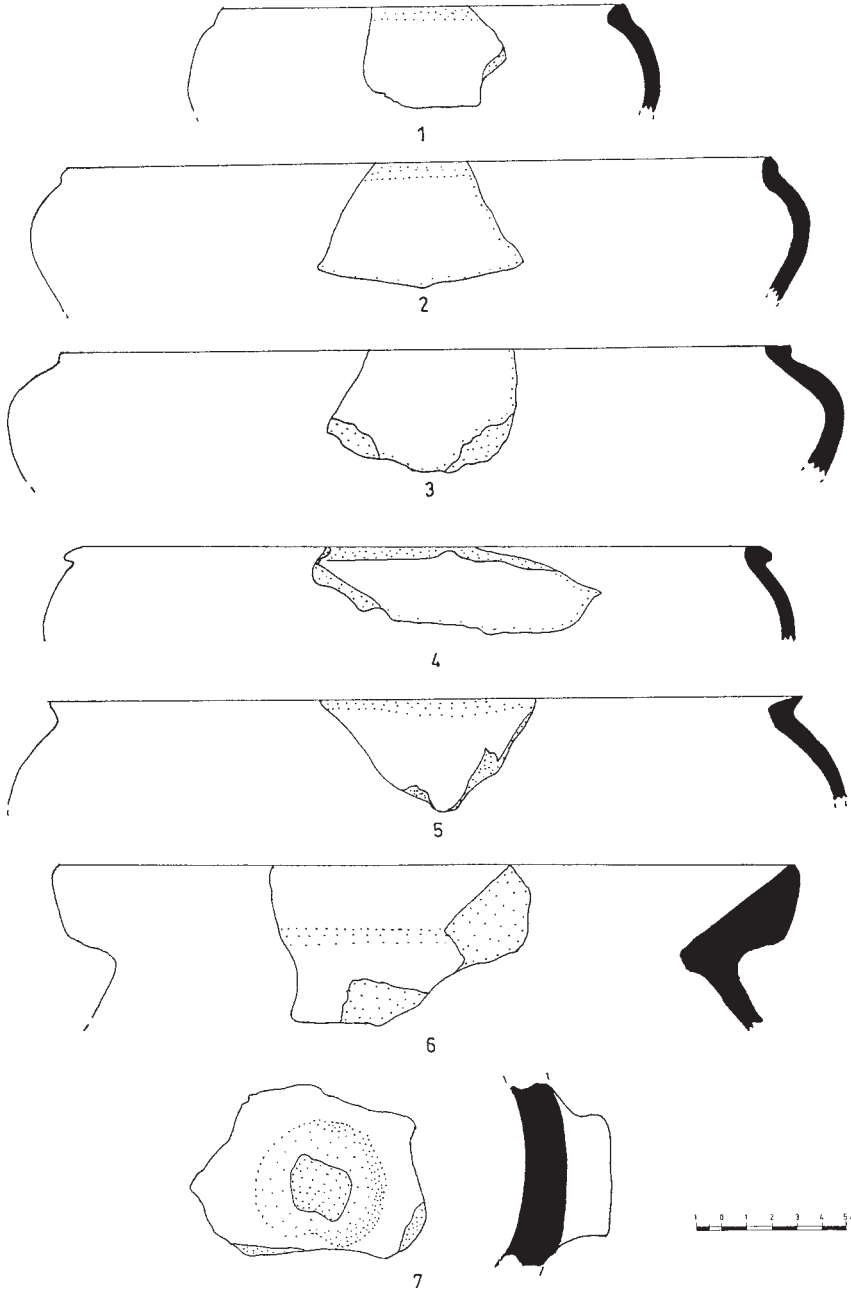


Plate 5



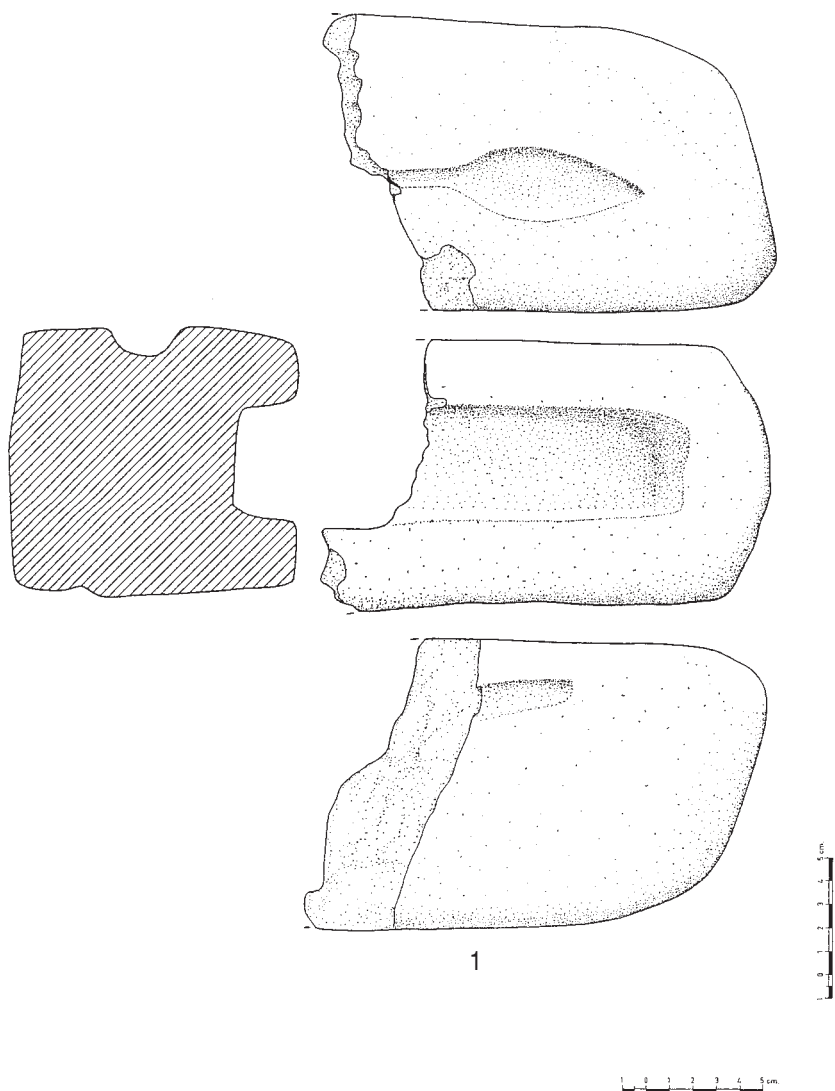
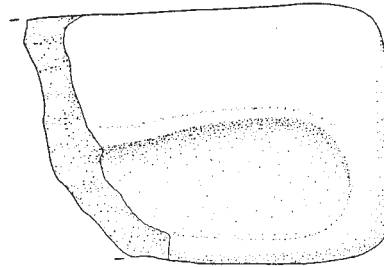
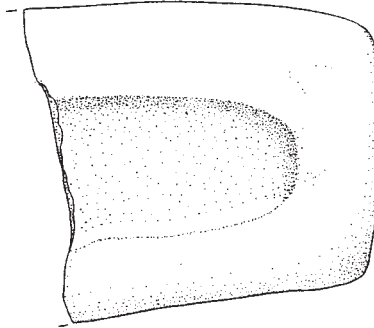
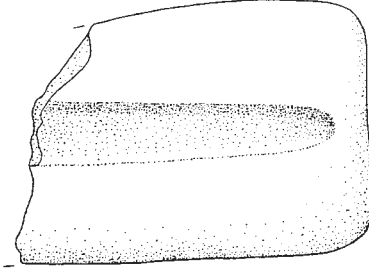
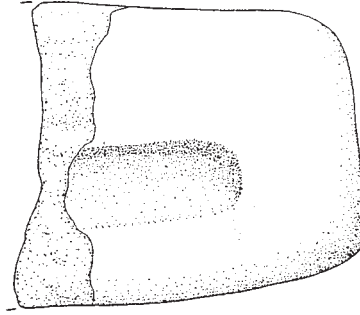
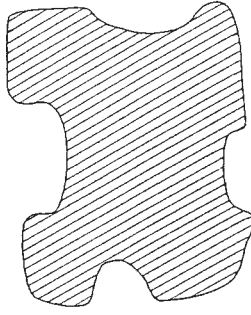


Plate 6



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Plate 7

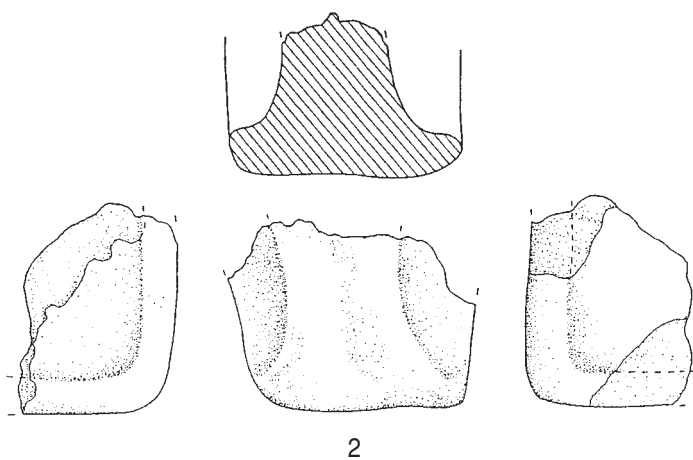
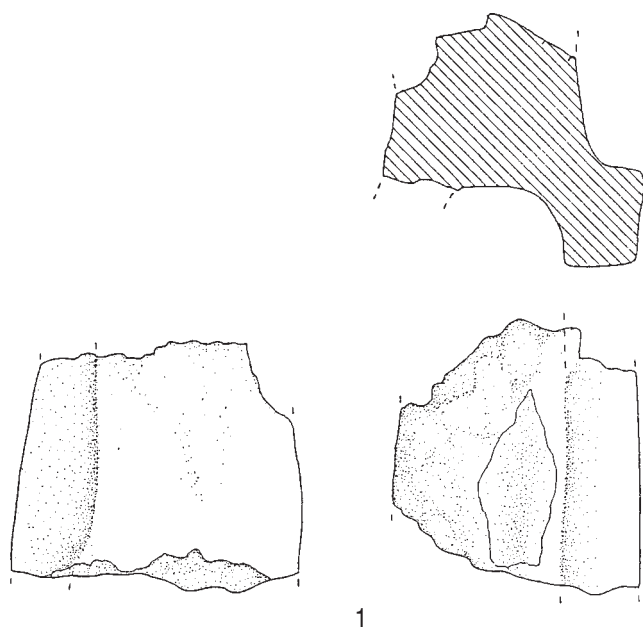


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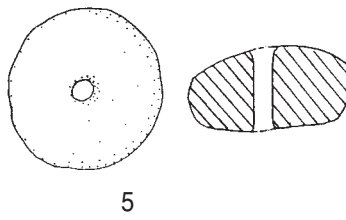
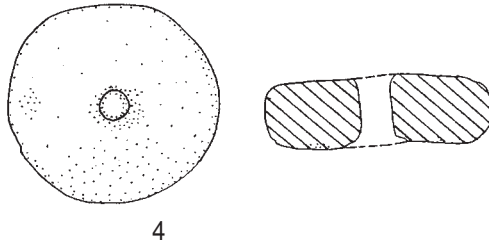
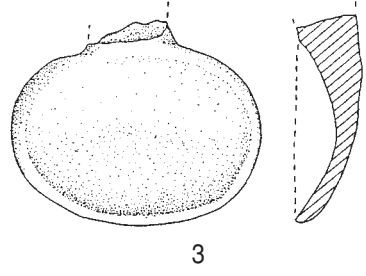
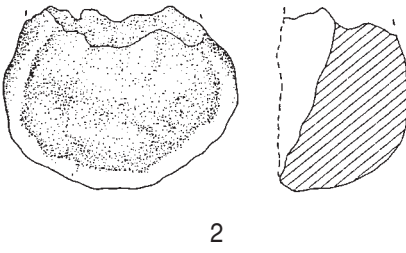
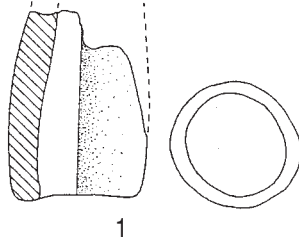
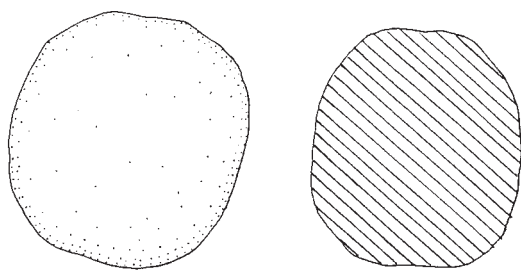
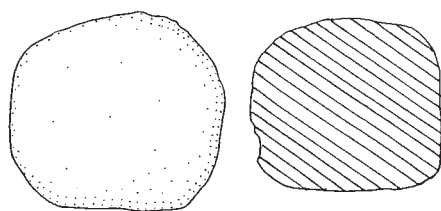


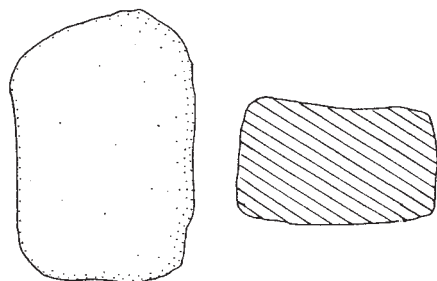
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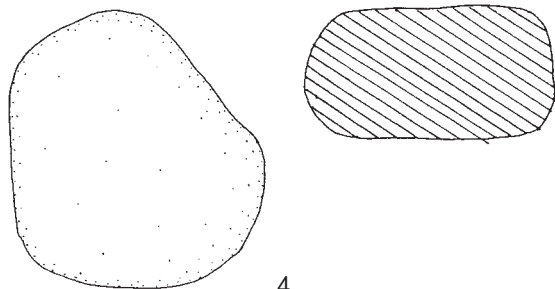
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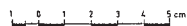


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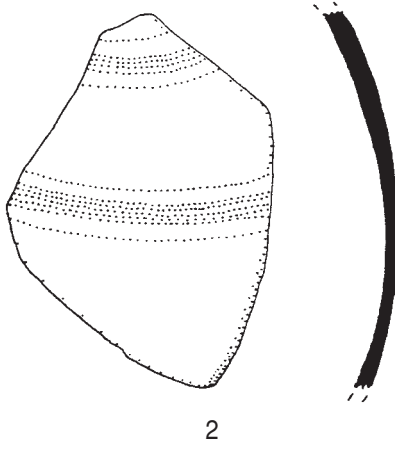
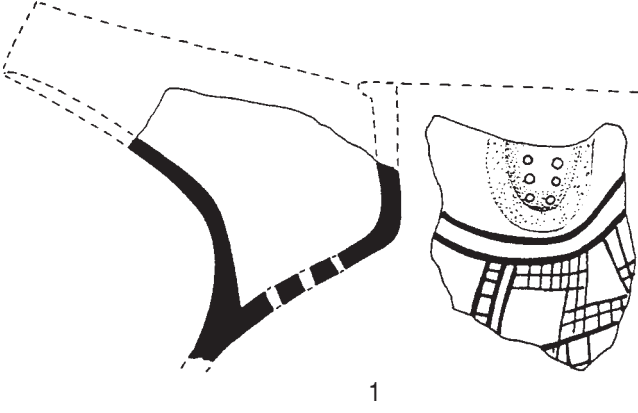
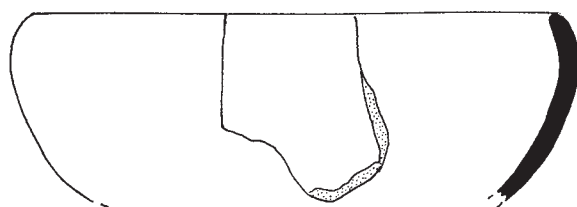
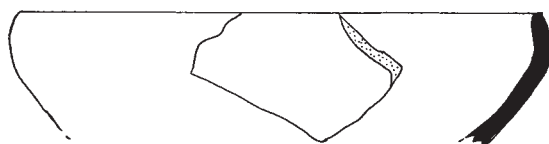


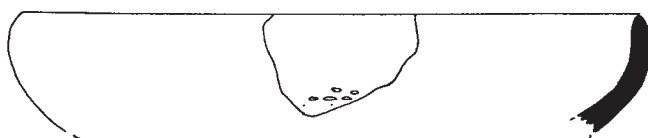
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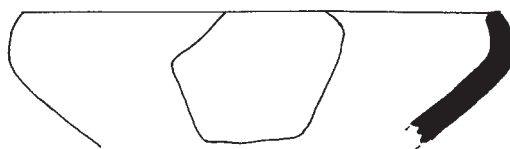
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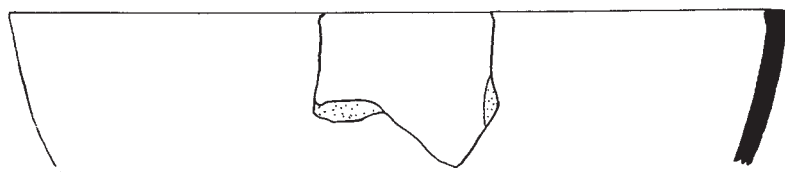
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Plate 12

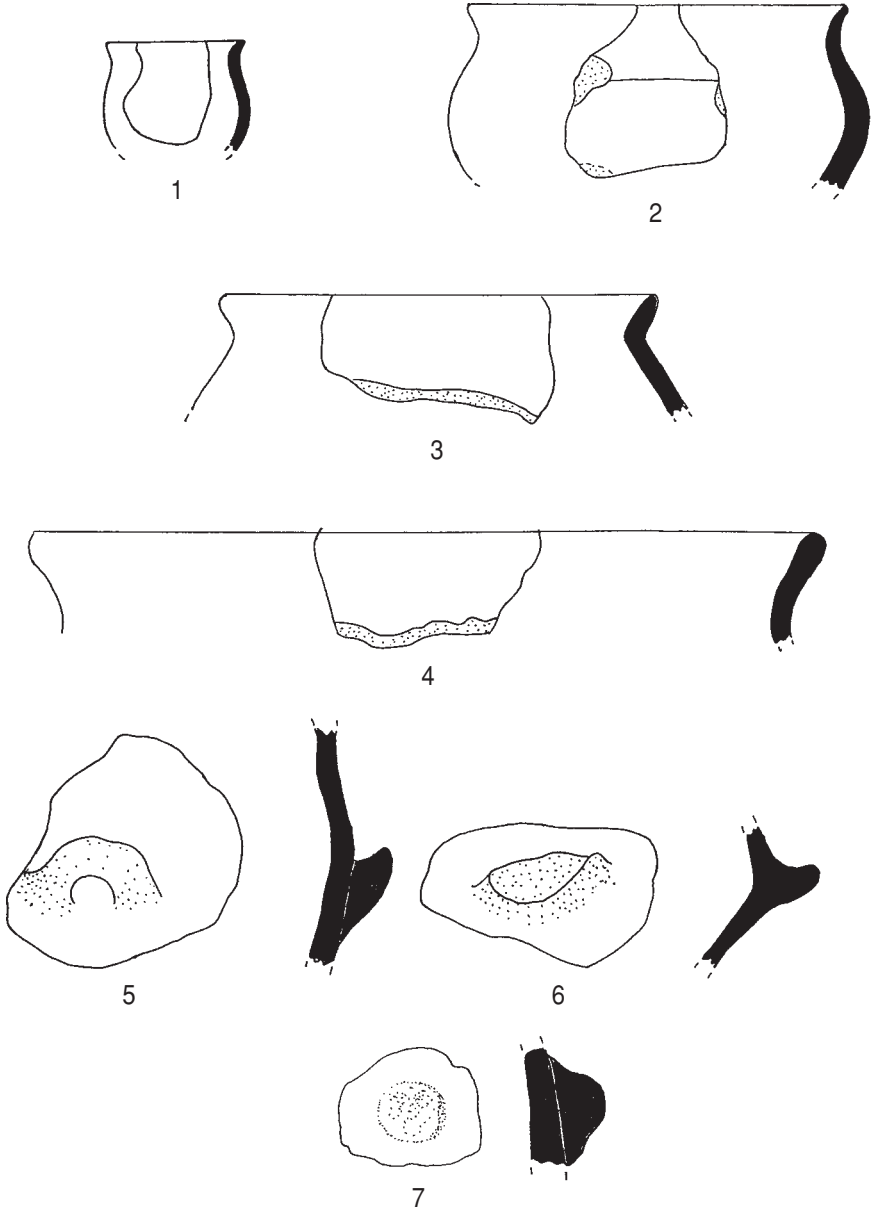


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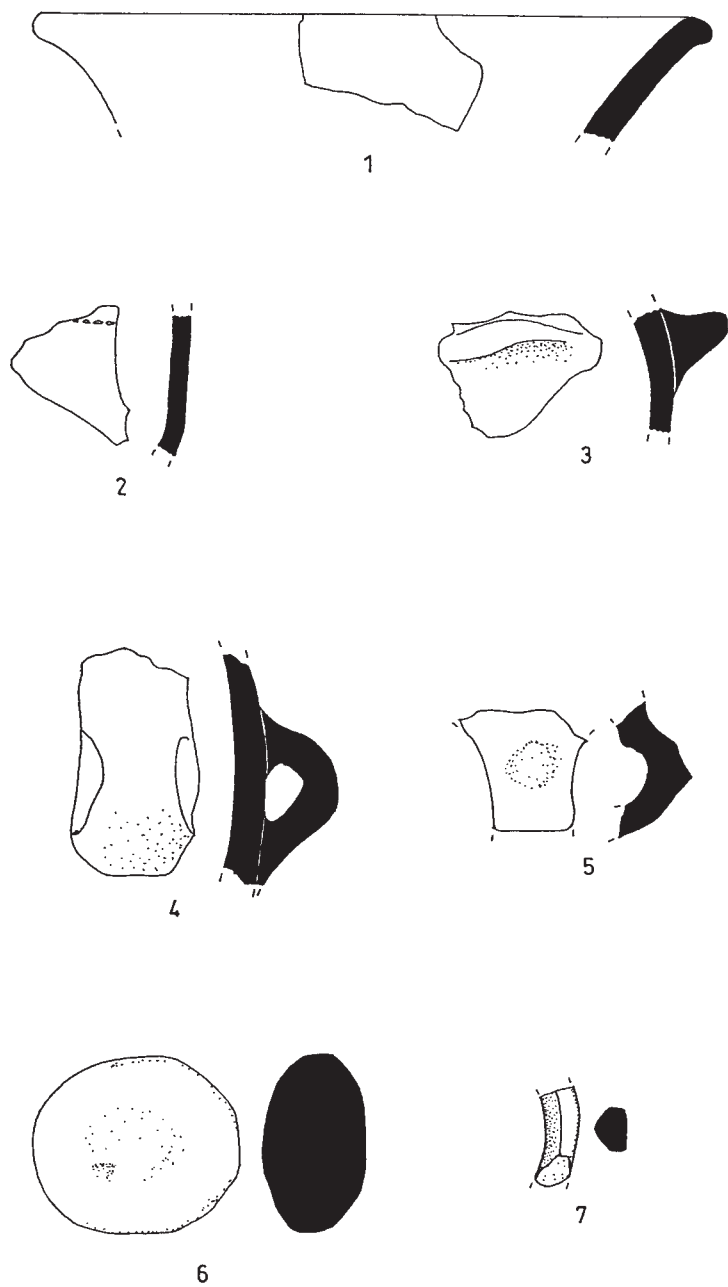


Plate 14

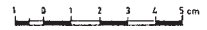
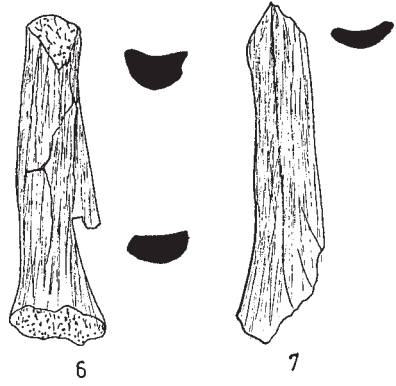
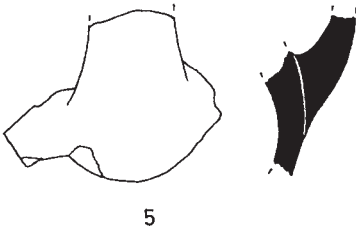
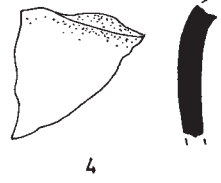
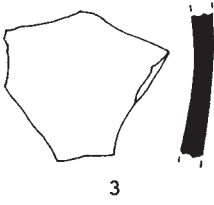
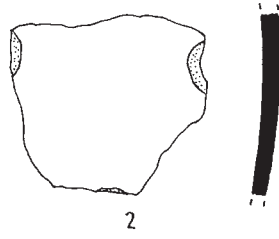
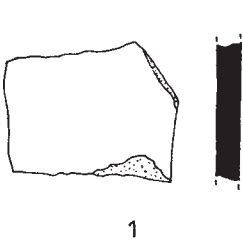


Plate 15

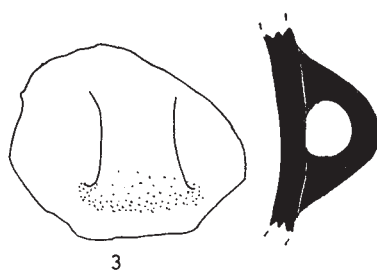
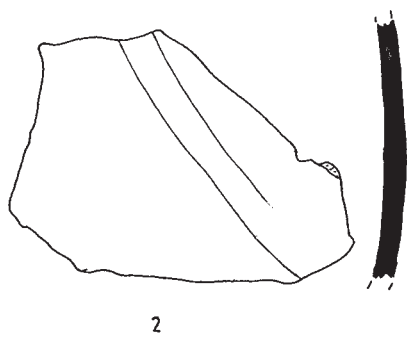
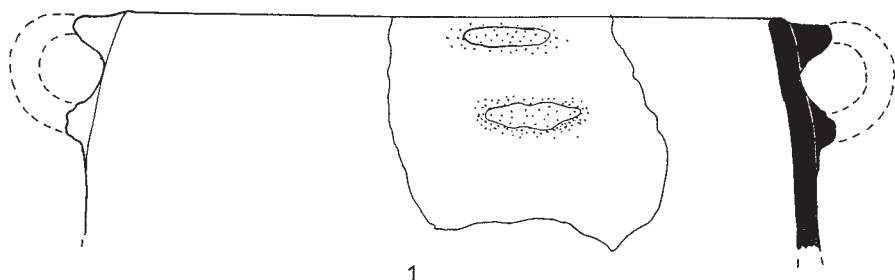


Plate 16

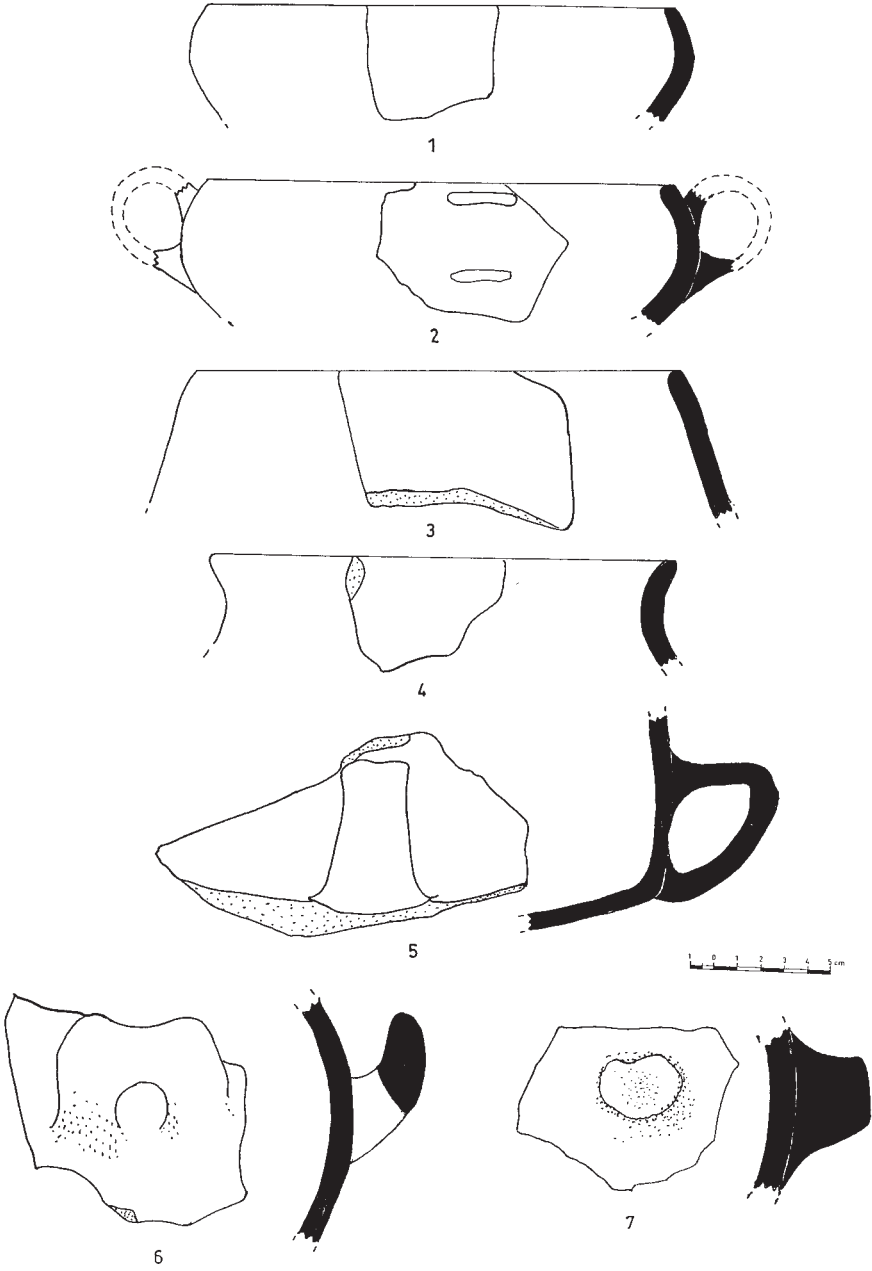


Plate 17

# Between Linguistics and Philology

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A renowned Danish linguist, Otto Jespersen, begins his farewell lecture delivered in 1925 at the University of Copenhagen as follows:

*I may be allowed today by general custom to talk more about myself than would be thought becoming at another time; if this shocks you, I can give you the consolation that it will not happen again.<sup>2</sup>*

Over forty years I have occupied myself with languages. Some of those languages are merely instruments which I need as a practitioner in my academic field. The others are an object of my scholarly work and I have my own opinions about them. Already as a highschool student I was rather interested in foreign languages. My English teacher managed, in addition to his routine teaching duties, to engage in research in the field of English studies. He once asked me to collect data for an article he was writing. He was the first stimulating, intellectually inspiring teacher, under whom I had the good fortune to study.

At a university in Tokyo I majored in English when the American version of structural linguistics dominated the field under the flag of such people as Harris, Hockett and Pike. In this atmosphere I recognised the importance of general, theoretical linguistics for research in particular languages. At the same time I wanted to study, as an optional subject, the original languages of the Bible. When I turned to the late Prof. Sekine, already well-established

<sup>1</sup> An English translation of a farewell lecture delivered at Leiden University on 10 October, 2003, under the title of 'Tussen taalkunde en filologie.' Among my audience were people to whom Hebrew or Greek was Basque.

<sup>2</sup> 'Farewell lecture at the University given on 25th May 1925,' *Selected Writings of Otto Jespersen* (London / Tokyo, n.d.), p. 782.

lished also outside Japan as an Old Testament and Hebrew scholar, I was told that he couldn't be bothered to teach the Alef Bet or Alpha Beta. Apparently one didn't have to worry then too much about student numbers. Having taught myself the basic grammar and vocabulary of Greek and Hebrew, I joined his courses in the following semester when we read *Phaedo* of Plato and the book of Job. With his incredibly broad knowledge of, and interest in, not only the biblical languages, but also the contents of the Bible, its theology and exegesis, and its surrounding world, he showed us clearly how useful good knowledge of languages can be in order to interpret texts correctly and gain insight into the world and culture which are reflected in them.

My next station, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, teemed with a large number of excellent scholars. Every area that has to do with biblical studies was represented by internationally known first-class researchers. Even for the BA degree one could major just in Hebrew linguistics. In this luxurious environment I met my future Ph.D. supervisor, the late Prof. C. Rabin and other superb Semitists such as the late Prof. E.Y. Kutscher, the late Prof. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, and Prof. O. Kapeliuk. The Semitic linguistics in Jerusalem was clearly characterised by not only refined synchronic approach, but also diachronic, historical approach against the background of comparative Semitics. One could go deep into Semitic languages, their structure for its own sake. Broad philological interests in the history and culture of the peoples who used the languages lay in the distant background. Only my supervisor, Rabin, did not neglect to place linguistic phenomena, their historical developments and the use of the languages in the broader, historical and societal context. Hence his interests in sociolinguistics. His outlook may have to do with his British education.

Although not few people learn foreign languages with pleasure and show interest in certain usages and phenomena of their mother tongue, not everybody could nor would conduct a systematic, critical, linguistic research, even in his own mother tongue. Pure linguistics is often regarded as somewhat boring, dull or off-putting. Such an impression is reinforced when one comes across a book or article on a linguistic subject in which lots of pseudo-mathematical formulas and symbols are used. There are linguists who get a kick out of the use of such an esoteric jargon as a show of their conviction that linguistics is no humanities subject, but a discipline belonging to natural science. However, it is quite possible to demonstrate, with a minimum of technical jargon, how relevant linguistics can be for philology and philologists who would like to study written texts, old texts in particular, out of broader interests focused on various facets of literature, history,

and culture. In the remaining time this afternoon I shall attempt to discuss this issue on the basis of select concrete examples.

The origins of the biblical literature as a whole or parts of it and their subsequent history is a question still hotly debated among students of the Bible. In the past, linguistic issues played a role in this debate, which, however, degenerated on occasion into a circular argument. A well-known Israeli Old Testament scholar and Hebraist, Avi Hurvitz, took up, in his doctoral dissertation, the question of Late Biblical Hebrew on the basis of purely linguistic data, and since then he has been a leading scholar in this field. In his dissertation he paid much attention to the longest of psalms, Psalm 119, coming to the conclusion that, irrespective of theological and general considerations, the psalm can be dated to the period following the Babylonian exile.<sup>3</sup> This psalm, along with a small number of other psalms, a few passages in Lamentations and a deuterocanonical book of the Wisdom of Ben Sira, is characterised by acrostic structure: it is a poem consisting of 22 units the first letters of which form the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their traditional sequence. In the case of Psalm 119 each unit consists of eight verses. Hence the psalm contains 176 verses, namely 8 times 22, the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Now, Hebraists are agreed that the penultimate letter of the Hebrew alphabet represented from times immemorial two distinct consonants, though one still does not know for sure how one of them actually might have sounded. In the penultimate unit, three verses begin with one of the consonants in question and the remaining five with the other consonant. From this one could conclude that all the acrostic poems were, in origin, written poems, thus unlike some other ancient biblical poems such as the song of Deborah, about which it is often assumed that there elapsed a long period of oral transmission before they came to be finalised in the form as we know them now. We must then conclude that the visual shape of the letters played here a more important role than their phonetic shape.

A Japanese colleague of mine, David Toshio Tsumura, has introduced a new concept into Hebrew linguistics, namely 'vertical grammar'.<sup>4</sup> Normally linguists operate with a series of sounds, words, phrases or sentences, which one can horizontally place on a line. The linguistic, literary phenomenon called parallelism, one of the principal hallmarks of the Old Testament po-

<sup>3</sup> A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-exilic Hebrew and its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* [Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 130–52, esp. 152.

<sup>4</sup> D. T. Tsumura, "Vertical grammar. The grammar of parallelism in Biblical Hebrew," in M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen, *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118] (Leuven, 2003), 487–97.



etry, can be, according to Tsumura, best identified when one places parallel lines one on top of the other. Here again, poems in which parallelism could be identified in this manner, could have been composed only by writing poets, not by gifted poets out of whose mouths poems would flow spontaneously or under inspiration.

The Hebrew and Aramaic conjunction, spelled with only one letter, which joins two or more words or word groups, is just as short as its Dutch equivalent, *en*. Its communicative value, however, is in no direct proportion to its length. What is more, a systematic linguistic description of it is extremely complicated. In most cases one can get away with the Dutch particle *en*. But what does this Dutch particle mean and what does it do? The description of its usage in *Groot Van Dale*<sup>5</sup> takes up a full column. In a standard Biblical Hebrew dictionary<sup>6</sup> the particle in question is described over as many as seven columns. Just as many other particles this one is tiresomely frequent: in the Hebrew Bible it occurs a staggering 30045 times. One interesting question here is: where you have a series consisting of multiple terms, do you repeat the particle between every two adjacent terms or can you dispense with it altogether? When a Jerusalem colleague of mine, B. Porten, and I wrote a grammar of Egyptian Aramaic, we noted that, in a famous official letter of complaint and petition sent by the council of a Jewish colony at Elephantine in Ancient Egypt to the Persian authorities, a series of five fast military operations is depicted with the conjunction between the last two adjacent terms only. This reminds us of the proverbial *veni, vidi, vici* of Caesar.<sup>7</sup> A similar staccato style is met with in the song extolling the triumph of the people of Israel against the Egyptian army in the Red Sea (Exod 15) and likewise in a description of Jael, an Israelite heroine, striking down the commander of the Canaanite army in Jdg 5.27 **בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ כָּרַע וַפֹּל שָׁכַב** “At her feet he sank, he fell, he lay prone.” By contrast, a few lines later in the same Aramaic document, a series of four acts of vandalism perpetrated against the local temple is mentioned with the particle between every two adjacent terms as if to hammer home the complainants’ indignation.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> G. Geerts *et al.*, *Van Dale: Groot Woordenboek der nederlandse Taal* (Utrecht / Antwerpen, <sup>12</sup>1992), pp. 782f.

<sup>6</sup> F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and Ch. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* etc. (Oxford, 1907), pp. 251-55.

<sup>7</sup> Suetonius, *Jul.* 37.2.

See A4.7:8f. in B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt Newly Copied, Edited, and Translated into Hebrew and English*. Vol. 1, *Letters: Appendix, Aramaic Letters from the Bible*. Department of the History of the Jewish People. Texts and Studies for Students (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1986).

<sup>8</sup> T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden, <sup>2</sup>2003), p. 258.

A related question here is in which order multiple terms are positioned. A public speech in Dutch usually begins with “Dames en heren.” In the Bible, however, men are mentioned first. Hence Lev 19.3 **אִישׁ אָמוֹ וְאָבִיו** **תִּירָאוּ** “Everyone shall fear his mother and his father” occasioned a special comment by the greatest of the mediaeval Jewish commentators, Rashi.<sup>9</sup> We know that in early biblical books we meet *silver and gold* (**כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב**), in late books *gold and silver* (**זָהָב וְכֶסֶף**). In the Ugaritic literature (14/13th cent. BC: *ksp u ḥrṣ*), in an Old Aramaic inscription (Sefire, 8th cent. BC: *ksp wdhb*), and in Babylonian documents also we find silver mentioned first—*kaspu u ḥurāṣu*. (Only rarely and in late Akkadian texts we find the reverse sequence.) Similarly in Ancient Egypt the sequence *gold — silver* became normal only in the New Kingdom as against the reverse sequence, which was common in the preceding periods.<sup>10</sup> This linguistic phenomenon, a neat distribution of the two possible sequences, accords with the historical fact that, in the Ancient Near East, silver was worth more than gold until the Persian period (ca. 500 BC) when the metal market was flooded with silver, as a result of which gold appreciated considerably.

In a recently defended Leiden dissertation<sup>11</sup> Michael Malessa discusses various ways in which Hebrew verbs can be complemented by means of a direct object or a prepositional phrase which latter indicates, for instance, where, when, with whom, and how an action is performed. Many of the verbs investigated by Malessa belong to the most frequent lexemes of the Biblical Hebrew vocabulary, such as **אָמַר** “to say” (5289 times). One of the

<sup>9</sup> כאן הקדים אם לאב לפי שנלוי לפניו שהבן ירא את אביו יותר מאמו “Here He mentioned mother before father, since He knows that a son naturally fears his father more than his mother.”

<sup>10</sup> I am indebted to Mr Joost Hagen for referring me to J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 41f.

See also A. Hurvitz, “‘Diachronic chiasm’ in Biblical Hebrew” [Heb.], in B. Uffenheimer (ed.), *Bible and Jewish History: Studies in Bible and Jewish History Dedicated to the Memory of Jacob Liver* (Tel-Aviv, 1971), pp. 248–55.

In an earlier study I mentioned a similar alternation between /šo’n u-vaqar/ (in earlier books and /baqar v-šo’n/ (in later books): T. Muraoka, “Biblical Hebrew philological notes (2),” S. Shaked *et al.* (eds), *Studies in Semitic Linguistics in Honor of Joshua Blau* [Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 15 (1992)], pp. 43–54, esp. 43–44. According to Prof. O. Borowski (Emory University) one cannot, on the basis of our current knowledge of Palestinian archaeology, explain this linguistic phenomenon in terms of changes and developments in agricultural patterns (private correspondence 6.10.2003).

A friend of mine, Mr. M. Richardson, suggests a literary influence of the surrounding languages such as Ugaritic (*alp u ṣ’h*) and Akkadian (*alpu u ṣēnu*), in which we have the sequence corresponding to that of Late Biblical Hebrew throughout their history, but one would like to know why such an influence should start to show itself only in late biblical books.

<sup>11</sup> M. Malessa, *Untersuchungen zur verbalen Valenz im biblischen Hebräisch* (Leiden, 2003).

interesting findings obtained by his meticulous study is a special nuance, durativity, which can be indicated by a structure in which some verbs are combined with a preposition *Bet* meaning “in.” To such verbs belongs a fairly frequent one קרא “to read; to call.” In the course of the temple renovation under the reformist king Josiah of Judah an old copy of the Pentateuch came to the surface. “Shaphan the secretary also told the king of the scroll, ‘The priest Hilkiah has given me a copy of it.’ Shaphan then read it (ויקרא בה) aloud to the king. When the king heard the words of the law he tore his clothes” (2Ch 34.18f.). According to Malessa, Shaphan was still reading the book, when the king reacted by toring his garment, what accords with the idea of Josiah as pious king.<sup>12</sup> About 400 years later, Ben Sirah speaks in praise of the king’s piety (in the Greek version at 49.3 we find εὐσεβῆα used). It is wonderful to see that the author of the book of Chronicles was able to present Josiah as pious king without using an explicit Hebrew word for it (such as חסד [so in Ben Sira here], חסיד) and by choosing a particular grammatical structure, and that through a one-letter preposition.

Since the discovery in 1947 of the Dead Sea scrolls, Qumran studies have quickly become a growth area in the fields of the Hebrew language and literature, ancient Judaism and early Christianity. Apart from endeavours to bring out a critical edition of the texts, fortunately nearly complete, the focus so far has been definitely philological in nature. The Hebrew and Aramaic languages of these extremely important and interesting documents have received attention of only a handful of scholars such as Kutscher, Beyer, and Qimron. In order to rectify this lopsided situation, two international symposia were held here in Leiden in 1995 and 1997, with clear focus on the Hebrew language of the Qumran documents and the Wisdom of Ben Sirah, a document closely related to the scrolls both linguistically and contentwise.<sup>13</sup> How a careful linguistic analysis can help to obtain a correct

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 89: “Aus der Durativität von II Chr 34,18b kann geschlossen werden, daß die Reaktion des Königs Joschija in II Chr 34,19 erfolgte, noch bevor Schafan das Buch vollständig vorgelesen hatte. Durch die Wahl der  $E_{\text{Präp}}$  (ב) durch den Chronisten wird die Unmittelbarkeit der Reaktion des Königs und damit auch seine Bereitschaft zur Umkehr hervorgehoben: Joschija war von den Worten so getroffen, daß er nicht wartete, bis Schafan das Gesetzbuch ganz vorgelesen hatte. Das ePP [= ויקרא] der Parallele II Reg 22,10 kann dies nicht explizit ausdrücken. Diese unmittelbare Reaktion Joschijas paßt zu dem Bild des frommen Königs, das der Chronist zeichnet, indem er in II Chr 34,3-7 von Reformmaßnahmen Joschijas noch vor der Auffindung des Gesetzbuches berichtet, die sich in II Reg 22 nicht finden.”

<sup>13</sup> See T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde (eds), *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University, 11-14 December 1995* (Leiden, 1997); T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde (eds), *Sirach, Scrolls & Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira & the Mishna, Held at Leiden*

picture of the ideas held by this unique religious community I would like to illustrate with reference to one concrete example. In one of the most important Qumran documents, 1QS, which belongs to the seven documents first discovered and which is unanimously regarded as a sort of constitution of the community we come across a Hebrew phrase (1QS 3.7) רוח קדושה, which is translated in a standard bilingual edition as *the Holy Spirit*, with both the H and S spelled with capital letters.<sup>14</sup> Since the translator is a renowned New Testament scholar, James Charlesworth of Princeton Theological Seminary, USA, one is sorely tempted to see here a piece of evidence for a possible close link between the Qumran community and the upcoming Christianity. In the past there has been a fair bit of ink spilled precisely on this issue. A certain scholar believes to have identified a tiny Qumran scrap with part of the Gospel according to Mark.<sup>15</sup> The Hebrew phrase in question, however, is one of three parallel phrases, each of which begins with a noun (רוח) forming a genitive construction. The other two (רוח יושר וענוה, רוח עצת אמת אל) can be rendered respectively “a spirit of counsel of divine truth” and “a spirit of integrity and humility.” The last clearly precludes the notion that we have here to do with one of the three persons of the trinity. The noun indicates a human spirit, no transcendental entity, but rather an ethical principle according to which one decides what to do and what not to do or how to conduct oneself. Moreover, one ought to note that the Hebrew phrase lacks the definite article.

During the past fifteen or so years I have expended a fair bit of time and energy on the lexicography of the Septuagint, the old Greek translation of the Old Testament. Over the recent years there has been a growing recognition that this translation, and also other ancient Bible translations to a certain extent, can and must be studied as a self-standing text, in spite of the fact that the Septuagint is by definition a translation for the most part. Hence ongoing projects to do the Septuagint into modern languages, Japa-

*University, 15-17 December 1997* (Leiden, 1999). A third symposium was held in 1999 in Beersheva in cooperation with Ben-Gurion University of the Negev: T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde (eds), *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira* (Leiden, 2000).

The Hebrew of Ben Sira was a topic of an excellent dissertation (1999) by a student of mine, published in 2003 by E. J. Brill as *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*.

<sup>14</sup> J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen / Louisville, 1994), p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> The scholar in question, J. O’Callaghan, claimed to be able to identify pieces of more New Testament books: see on this question G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York / London, 1997), p. 441.

nese included, and write commentaries on it. For such an undertaking a grammar and a dictionary are indispensable tools. For this reason I have dedicated the latest edition of my Septuagint lexicon<sup>16</sup> to Mme M. Harl of Sorbonne, a pioneer of this new and innovative Septuagint research.

In lexicography there are more points of contact between linguistics and philology than in phonology, morphology or syntax. A short while ago, in the course of my ongoing lexicographical work I noted a striking rendering of a common Hebrew word, חוזה “seer.” At 1Ch 25.5 we read חוזה המלך “the seer of the king.” The first word is rendered in the Septuagint with ἀνακρουόμενος, a Greek verb which means “to strike,” more specifically “to strike a musical instrument.” In fact the whole passage consists of a list of temple musicians. In the traditional synagogue service there is a special function assigned to an officer called חזן (chazan), “cantor.” True, it is generally thought that the function of chazan in the ancient times had nothing to do with music.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the Bible itself leaves no doubt that in Ancient Israel music played a central role in the temple. The post-biblical periods witnessed various changes in the Jewish liturgical life. The striking and non-standard Septuagint rendition at 1Ch 25.5 could provide us a glimpse into the Jewish liturgy in the third and second centuries BC in the Diaspora.

As one who is confronted daily with problems such as I have just illustrated I cannot agree more with a German Hebraist / Old Testament scholar, R. Barthelmus, who has recently said: “die Grammatik ist weniger die ‘Magd’ als die ‘Mutter’ aller Theologie.”<sup>18</sup> Barthelmus was actually preceded by the German theologian par excellence, Martin Luther, who had said: “primo grammatica videamus, verum ea theologica.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Leuven, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, “Hazzan” in C. Adler et al. (eds), *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York / London, 1904), VI.284b — 287b.

<sup>18</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 125 (2000) 744.

<sup>19</sup> WA 5, 27, 8: cited by J. Joosten, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 83 (2003) 147, n. 7. A certain Dr A.M. Fairbairn, a Scottish Congregationalist and the first Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, is reported to have said in 1906: “No man can be a theologian who is not a philologist. He who is no grammarian is no divine.” The quotation is to be found in A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (New York, 1919), p. x. [I owe Prof. J. Barr the bibliographical information on the Scottish divine.] One may find an expression of a similar sentiment in W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik, I. Das Wort (Morphologie)* (St. Ottilien, 1978), p. 39, quoted by G. Vanoni, “Zur Bedeutung der althebräischen Konjunktion w’ = . Am Beispiel von Psalm 149.6,” in W. Groß, H. Irsigler & Th. Seidl (eds), *Text, Methode und Grammatik* [Fshr W. Richter] (St. Ottilien, 1991), p. 561.

In this context I would also like to touch on another aspect of philology. If you are interested in the structure of Greek, for instance, you can focus on any period of the language, whether it be the pre-Homeric phase, the period of classical Athenian authors, the mediaeval Greek or Modern Greek. An English philologist could, in theory, study Harry Potter's novels in order to study aspects of the Anglosaxon culture, although here you have more than enough direct sources and data at your disposal, whether textual or not. In the case of ancient cultures, however, it is a fact that textual, written sources are a most important, if not the most important, source for our knowledge of the culture, culture in a broad sense, the culture of an ethnic group or people, speakers and users of the language in which written texts have come down to us. In a utilitarian, pragmatic society, things old are sometimes dismissed as irrelevant. Here one must never lose sight of the fact that every human being, every group of individuals, and every cultural phenomenon have historical dimensions. In the general, theoretical linguistics the distinction between two approaches has now become the common good of the discipline: synchrony focused on a phase in the history of a given language on the one hand, and diachrony on the other, which looks at language phenomena from the perspective of historical development. A synchronic approach, however, is an artificial construct and expediency, for every language is, or once was, a living organism which can be understood in its entirety only by taking historical, diachronic dimensions into account at the same time. Nowadays some linguists talk about panchrony.<sup>20</sup> As far as Hebrew studies are concerned, the message is that it is a sheer illusion, blissful ignorance if one should think that one can understand the characteristics of Modern Hebrew and the literature written in it without solid knowledge of Classical Hebrew and classical Hebrew literature, Biblical Hebrew and the Bible in particular. Here one also needs to take into account a feature unique to the history of Hebrew. In order to comprehend the structure of Presentday English one need not know Anglosaxon or Old English. But since the end of the first century A.D. nobody ever used Hebrew in his daily life as his mother tongue. Only from the end of the 19th century Hebrew was gradually and artificially revived, and in this process Classical Hebrew played a vital role. The morphology of Modern Hebrew is basically that of Biblical Hebrew. In Israeli secular schools, not orthodox, religious schools, pupils get at least one or two Bible lessons every week. In the sixties, when I translated a number of novels by the Israeli Nobel laureate, Shmuel Joseph Agnon, into Japanese, it was immediately apparent to

<sup>20</sup> Cook, J. A., "The Hebrew verb: a grammaticalization approach," *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 14 (2001) 117-43.

me that his language and style are thoroughly imbued with the Hebrew classics. One of the novels, *שבועת אמונים* *An oath of fidelity*, a delightful love-story, for instance, you couldn't possibly begin to understand without being thoroughly acquainted with the language and contents of the *Song of Songs*.

Summing up, I might say this: linguistics and philology do not exclude each other, but need each other.<sup>21</sup>

Having come to the end of my address I would like to say that I am deeply indebted to Leiden University for having allowed me to devote the past eleven or so years to the study of ancient Semitic languages and Greek, their grammatical structure and vocabulary. I have had the good fortune and pleasure of benefiting from the high intellectual level of colleagues, stimulating company of well-motivated, not a few brilliant students, Ph.D. students, the Centre for Non-Western Studies, administrative staff, and two of the best libraries in the world, the University Library and that of the Dutch Institute of Near Eastern Studies.

Now that I am officially taking leave of my employer and the community of Leiden scholars, I can scarcely do better than cite the concluding passage of another of Agnon's novels, entitled *עד עולם* *For ever*:

ברית כרותה לחכמה שאינה מניחה מחכמיה והם אינם מניחים ממנה. הוא אמר מה לי ליגע עצמי? והיא החזיקה בו ואמרה לו שב אהובי שב ואל תניחני. היה יושב ומגלה צפונות שהיו מכוסים מכל חכמי הדורות, עד שבא הוא וגילה אותם. ולפי שהדברים מרובים והחכמה ארוכה ויש בה הרבה לחקור ולדרוש ולהבין, לא הניח את עבודתו ולא זו ממקומו וישב שם עד עולם.

*With scholarship there is a covenant made, which does not let go of scholars, and which scholars do not let go of. He [= the hero of the novel] said: "Why should I weary myself?" It grasped him and said: "Sit, my dear, sit. Don't let go of me." He was sitting there, revealing mysteries which had remained hidden from scholars of his former generations until he came along and revealed them. Since issues are innumerable, the path of scholarship is long, and there is much to investigate, to enquire, and to understand, he did not leave his work, he did not move away from his place, and sat there for ever.*

Thank you for your attention.

<sup>21</sup> For a difference between the terms *linguistics* on one hand and *philology* on the other, and the occasional ambiguity of the latter, see O. Jespersen, *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* (London, 1922), pp. 64-66.



# Nazareth avant Jésus, un nouvel examen historique

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## Abstract

*An administrative text from Tell Haşor in Galilee holds the name “Nassura”. This tablet dating from the Late Bronze Age (c. 1550-1180) is perhaps the first attestation of Nazareth in history. A new study of the excavations’ reports and new discoveries on the site allow to think Nazareth was a small city or a built area in Bronze Age. Around our era, the designation of Nazareth as a “city” in New Testament cannot be corroborated by archaeology. We propose to understand the locution “city of Nazareth” as a remembrance of a golden age, when a city existed in Bronze Age. This expression may be a literary figure to explain the choice of Messiah’s birthplace.*

Etablie sur une des collines de la Basse Galilée, la ville de Nazareth<sup>1</sup> domine un paysage bucolique marqué par le pastoralisme et l’agriculture.<sup>2</sup> L’afflux quotidien des pèlerins chrétiens sur les traces du plus célèbre des Nazaréens, Jésus, trouble la quiétude de cette région à mi-chemin entre le lac de Tibériade et la mer Méditerranée. Un nouveau témoignage épigraphique est peut-être à verser au dossier archéologique de la Nazareth antique et pourrait éclairer la désignation de Nazareth comme une “ville” dans le Nouveau Testament. De plus, de récentes fouilles archéologiques en Galilée permettent de jeter un œil nouveau sur le site de Nazareth avant notre ère.

<sup>1</sup> La ville actuelle est située sur deux sites: au sommet de la colline *Nazerat Illit* et sur les flancs de la colline *Nazerat*.

<sup>2</sup> Flavius Josèphe, *Guerre des Juifs*, III, 42-3, écrit sur la Galilée: “La région toute entière est fertile, riche en pâturages, plantée d’arbres de toute espèce, de sorte que l’homme le plus paresseux pour les travaux de la terre se sent une vocation d’agriculteur devant de telles facilités. De fait, toute la surface est cultivée par les habitants, pas une parcelle n’est laissée en friche. Les villes sont semées dru et les très nombreux bourgs sont partout, au point que le plus petit d’entre eux compte plus de 15 000 habitants.”

## La plus ancienne mention de Nazareth?

Dans les textes retenus par le canon chrétien, Nazareth est mentionnée en grec à quatorze reprises et ce, uniquement dans le Nouveau Testament. Aucune allusion n'est consignée dans l'Ancien Testament ou les écrits intertestamentaires. Sans revenir sur les événements concernant la jeunesse de Jésus passée à Nazareth, il apparaît que le nom de la ville, cité en grec, présente des orthographes différentes:  $\nu\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta$  en Mt 21,11, Lc 1,26; 2,4.39.51, Ac 10,38;  $\nu\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau$  en Mt 2,23, Mc 1,9, Jn 1,45.46;  $\nu\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$  en Mc 1,24, Lc 4,34;  $\nu\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$  en Mt 4,13 et Lc 4,16. Aucune orthographe toponymique n'est attachée exclusivement à un livre en particulier, c'est pourquoi on ne peut attribuer une orthographe spécifique à un auteur néotestamentaire en lien avec son milieu et son origine géographique. Les hésitations quant à l'orthographe du lieu pourraient trahir une traduction dépendante du nom du site en hébreu ou en araméen. En effet, l'hébreu peut comporter une terminaison féminine avec les formes hypothétiques  $\text{נַצְרָת}$  ou  $\text{נַצְרָה}$  ou bien encore le toponyme peut provenir de l'araméen  $\text{נִצְרָא}$ . La traduction en grec du nom du lieu semble reprendre tour à tour ces deux orthographes possibles de Nazareth en hébreu et en araméen.<sup>3</sup>

Les exégètes, qui se sont intéressés à la question de l'orthographe supposée de Nazareth en hébreu ou en araméen, sont unanimes pour reconnaître la difficulté d'établir une étymologie assurée du nom "Nazareth". L'hypothèse la plus couramment admise<sup>4</sup> est de rattacher le terme grec  $\nu\alpha\zeta\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta$  et ses variantes à Is 11,1 et 60,21:

[Is 11,1] *Un rameau sortira de la souche de Jessé, un rejeton (נִצְרָן) jaillira de ses racines.*

[Is 60,21] *Ton peuple, eux tous, seront des justes, pour toujours ils hériteront de la terre, rejeton (נִצְרָן) de mes plantations, œuvre de mes mains, destinées à ma gloire.*

Le verset de Mt 2,23 signifie l'installation de Joseph, Marie et Jésus nouveau-né à Nazareth lors du retour d'Égypte "pour que s'accomplisse ce qui avait été dit par les prophètes: il sera appelé Nazôréen ( $\text{Ναζωραῖος}$ )". La désignation de Jésus comme un nouveau David, fils de Jessé, est classique dans le Nouveau Testament, mais le lien entre les citations isaïennes et l'appellation de "Nazôréen" ( $\text{Ναζωραῖος}$ ) est peu évident et débattu. De plus, le libellé en Matthieu est unique dans le livre de l'évangéliste. La référence à une parole prophétique non parvenue jusqu'à nous demeure affectée d'un fort coefficient d'hypothèse. Il est probable que la référence aux prophètes

<sup>3</sup> Rüger 1981, pp. 257–263.

<sup>4</sup> Strange 1992, pp. 1050–1051.

suggère l'annonce martelée de l'arrivée d'un Messie.<sup>5</sup> Selon cette hypothèse, le nom de Nazareth proviendrait du nom commun נֶצֶר signifiant une "branche", un "surgeon", une "pousse". En quelque sorte, la dénomination de "pousse" à l'origine du nom "Nazareth" signifierait une région fertile. D'autres<sup>6</sup> pensent que le nom de la ville se rattache plutôt à la racine sémitique נָצַר pour indiquer celui ou celle qui "garde", qui "surveille", qui "regarde". Il s'agirait d'une allusion à la colline sur laquelle est bâtie la cité. Cette colline serait la sentinelle de la région environnante, le point de vue incontournable, le passage obligé dans cette région vallonnée. En effet, le site de Nazareth domine la route principale qui mène au sud et à l'ouest, de Sepphoris à Césarée et qui est proche de Japhia. L'étymologie du nom "Nazareth" demeure difficile à établir.<sup>7</sup>

Un nouveau document pourrait éclairer l'histoire de Nazareth avant l'époque de Jésus. Durant la saison de fouilles en 1996, dans le palais royal de Tell Ḥaṣor, à une quarantaine de kilomètres de Nazareth en direction du nord-est, deux tablettes de la fin de l'âge du Bronze ont été exhumées.<sup>8</sup> La première tablette<sup>9</sup> se présente sous la forme d'une missive. Les analyses pétrographiques indiquent une provenance de la région des *Amurru*, c'est-à-dire le nord du désert syrien, entre l'Euphrate et l'Oronte.<sup>10</sup> Seraient en cause un groupe de femmes et d'autres biens appartenant à un jeune homme, dont le nom n'est pas conservé. Toute cette cargaison ne serait pas arrivée à destination.<sup>11</sup> La seconde tablette<sup>12</sup> est un court document de trois lignes qui s'apparente à un texte administratif. Le texte conservé se lit:<sup>13</sup>

1. a-na A-ma-ZA-RUM<sup>rk1</sup> m'Da<sup>1</sup>-ni-bé-li
2. a-na URU Ḥa-ṣú-ra mBa<sup>1</sup>-li-ia<sub>5</sub>
3. a-na URU Na-A[S]-SUR-[r]a mPu[r]-ri-i-di
1. A/Pour *Amazarum*, Dānībéli
2. A/Pour la ville de Ḥaṣor, Ba'liya
3. A/Pour la ville de *Nassura*, Purridi

<sup>5</sup> En marge de cette étude, le débat sur la signification du mot "*Nazôréen*" et de ce verset mathéen reste ouvert. Cf. la synthèse des opinions dans l'article de Mimouni 1998, pp. 208–262.

<sup>6</sup> Reicke et Rost 1962–1971, pp. 1291–1292.

<sup>7</sup> Mimouni 1998, p. 233, n. 116, note que l'étymologie araméenne alléguée de Nazareth, נֶצֶר, peut faire référence à la spécialité artisanale du site, la "*vannerie*", la "*corbeille en osier*".

<sup>8</sup> Les deux tablettes proviennent du locus 1697, zone A.

<sup>9</sup> Elle est cotée IAA 1997–3307 = Hazor 16455.

<sup>10</sup> Goren 2000, pp. 29–42.

<sup>11</sup> Horowitz 2000, p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Elle est cotée IAA 1997–3308 = Hazor 16453.

<sup>13</sup> En accord avec Horowitz 2000, p. 26, à l'examen des photographies de l'avert et du revers.

Ces trois lignes livrent manifestement une formule stéréotypée avec une adresse (à/pour), un toponyme et un nom personnel. En ce sens, le lieu mentionné à la ligne 2 est le nom bien connu de Ḥaṣor,<sup>14</sup> cité puissante à l'âge du Bronze (*circa* 3300-1180) et commandant l'entrée en Palestine. C'est pourquoi il y a tout lieu de penser que les noms après l'adresse dans les lignes 1 et 3 sont aussi des toponymes. Du reste, la mention d'une "ville", d'un lieu bâti, URU, est assurée pour les lignes 2 et 3, sans le déterminatif *ki* et inversement, le déterminatif de lieu sans le nom URU est porté à la ligne 1. Dans cette région et à cette époque, l'usage des marqueurs de lieu ne semble pas rigoureusement fixé.<sup>15</sup> Le toponyme de la ligne 1, "Amazarum",<sup>16</sup> reste à ma connaissance sans localisation. Le lieu de la ligne 3, "Nassura", a été comparé au site de Nazareth par W. Horowitz.<sup>17</sup> Au regard de l'absence de toponymes comparables à "Nassura" dans les documents retrouvés aux alentours du lieu de découverte de la tablette, Ḥaṣor, et dans les *corpora* des régions environnantes, ce toponyme est peut-être une mention de l'antique Nazareth.<sup>18</sup> A l'appui de cette hypothèse, il est remarquable que le toponyme datant de l'âge du Bronze récent (*c.* 1550-1180), "Nassura", conserve une forte similitude philologique avec le terme grec νᾶζαρά en particulier, et la racine sémitique נצר.

### La "ville" de Nazareth à l'époque de Jésus et à l'âge du Bronze

Les innombrables études sur la vie de Jésus rapportent que Nazareth au tournant de notre ère n'est qu'un hameau.<sup>19</sup> Cette vue consensuelle se fonderait sur les restes archéologiques exhumés. L'absence de citation ou même d'allusion à Nazareth dans les textes vétérotestamentaires et intertestamentaires serait un argument de plus en faveur de cette description de la Nazareth de Jésus, un village inconnu du plus grand nombre. Pourtant, des pas-

<sup>14</sup> Cf. entre autres, la correspondance retrouvée à El-Amarna, les lettres 148,41; 227,3,21; 228,4,15,23; 364,18; pour les textes retrouvés à Mari, cf. Bonechi 1992, p. 21, n. 36; quant à Ougarit, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* XI 44 ii 14'; à Emar, cf. Arnaud 1987, p. 144, version 3, ligne 24'.

<sup>15</sup> Les documents contemporains des deux tablettes attestent qu'il n'y a pas de normalisation des déterminatifs de lieu à l'époque amarnienne, cf. Rainey 1966, pp. 28-29 et Horowitz 1996, p. 215, n. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Horowitz 2000, p. 27, donne quelques pistes de localisation possible, mais sans conviction.

<sup>17</sup> Horowitz 2000, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Grootker 2000, p. 281, note que sur des cartes ottomanes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, la ville de Nazareth est nommée "Nasirah".

<sup>19</sup> Entre autres, Meyers et Strange 1981, pp. 42-43, évaluent la population de Nazareth entre 1500 et 2000 habitants.

sages néotestamentaires qualifient Nazareth du nom de “ville”, πόλις, en Mt 2,23, Lc 1,26; 2,4.39. Même si Luc désigne Nazareth comme une ville, il ne peut s’agir d’une tendance exclusivement lucanienne, car Matthieu cite également Nazareth comme une ville au moment où Nazareth apparaît dans l’histoire. D’autres occurrences lucaniennes omettent la référence à Nazareth comme une ville. C’est pourquoi il semble exister une ambiguïté sur la qualification de Nazareth.

La désignation de “ville” est-elle une allusion à la taille urbaine de Nazareth? Quel est le seuil minimal au tournant de notre ère pour qu’un lieu reçoive le qualificatif de “ville”? Luc attribue le mot πόλις à des sites bien attestés par l’archéologie: Bethléem en Lc 2,4, Capharnaüm en Lc 4,31, Naïm en Lc 7,11. La taille de ces lieux au tournant de notre ère semble modeste au regard des résultats des fouilles archéologiques: par exemple, Capharnaüm aurait eu environ 1000 habitants à cette époque.<sup>20</sup> Par ailleurs, la référence à une ville pour décrire Nazareth pourrait être un procédé littéraire pour mettre en relief l’histoire de Jésus, afin de signifier non l’importance urbaine, mais l’importance conférée par la présence du Messie. Du reste, en Jn 1,46, la remarque empreinte d’acrimonie de la part de Nathanaël à Jésus, “*De Nazareth peut-il sortir quelque chose de bon?*”, est généralement interprétée comme la reprise d’un cliché sur les Nazaréens. Ceux-ci auraient mauvaise réputation. Doit-on comprendre cette remarque comme le signe de la ruralité, une région réputée à l’écart des raffinements de la vie hiérosolymitaine?<sup>21</sup> Nous ne franchirons pas le pas. Le passage de Lc 4,29 rappelle la réaction des Juifs face aux paroles de Jésus prononcées à la synagogue. Ils sont choqués et menacent alors de jeter Jésus dans le vide. Le texte décrit le site prétendu de la ville:

*Ils se levèrent, le jetèrent hors de la ville et le menèrent jusqu’à un escarpement de la colline sur laquelle était bâtie leur ville, pour le précipiter en bas.*

Aujourd’hui, il est difficile de retrouver un escarpement où serait fondée la ville. Est-ce une vue idéalisée d’un auteur ne connaissant pas Nazareth ou est-ce l’indice d’un bouleversement du site pour édifier un territoire urbain plus conséquent quelques siècles après notre ère? Le qualificatif de “ville” pour Nazareth relève-t-il seulement d’une simple figure littéraire?

Les hésitations néotestamentaires sur la qualification de Nazareth comme d’une ville peuvent relever de la figure littéraire, mais la tablette exhumée à Ḥaṣor pourrait éclairer la genèse de cette image. En effet, “*Nassura*” est clairement appelé URU, un lieu bâti, au même titre que Ḥaṣor, dont les restes

<sup>20</sup> Horsley 1995, pp. 166–167.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. les remarques dans Easton 1897, [www.ccel.org/e/easton/ebd/ebd.html](http://www.ccel.org/e/easton/ebd/ebd.html).

archéologiques découverts trahissent une taille urbaine impressionnante pour l'époque.<sup>22</sup> Si la ville de "*Nassura*" est l'antique Nazareth, il semble qu'à l'époque du Bronze récent, Nazareth pouvait peut-être constituer plus qu'un village de quelques maisons avec quelques personnes aux conditions de vie précaires comme l'attestent les objets exhumés des strates archéologiques de l'époque du Bronze.<sup>23</sup> La proximité de Sepphoris, centre administratif et culturel romain, a dû influencer la vie économique de Nazareth.<sup>24</sup> Même si la ville a perdu de sa superbe et de sa population depuis l'âge du Bronze, on peut envisager que la collusion du toponyme Nazareth et du vocable "ville", au sens d'un lieu bâti, a pu perdurer comme une simple formule, peut-être vide de sens, à l'époque de Jésus. Du reste, la définition du fait urbain reste difficile à énoncer dans l'Antiquité. La locution "*ville de Nazareth*" a-t-elle un lien avec une taille urbaine minimale ou un nombre d'habitants? Le qualificatif de πόλις au tournant de notre ère demeure tout à fait relatif d'un auteur à l'autre, car aucun seuil minimal d'habitants n'est établi pour désigner une "ville", contrairement à aujourd'hui. Un auteur antique vivant à Jérusalem devait percevoir Nazareth comme une simple bourgade, alors qu'un auteur originaire d'une région rurale pouvait percevoir Nazareth, lieu de passage, comme une petite ville à l'époque.

### Pour une révision de l'archéologie de Nazareth

Les fouilles menées depuis la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle afin de rechercher des signes palpables de la présence de Jésus permirent de mettre en évidence une zone d'occupation à l'époque hérodienne entre 300 m par 100 m pour les uns,<sup>25</sup> 4 hectares<sup>26</sup> et 900 m par 200 m pour d'autres<sup>27</sup>; les estimations du nombre d'habitants à l'époque de Jésus varient aussi très fortement: de 400<sup>28</sup> ou 480 habitants<sup>29</sup> à 15 000 à 20 000 habitants!<sup>30</sup> Les quelques nom-

<sup>22</sup> Cf. les rapports de fouilles: Yadin 1955–1956; Ben-Tor 1961; Ben-Tor 1989; Ben-Tor et Bonfil 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Bagatti 1967, pp. 250–260. Avec des précautions à prendre quant à la stratigraphie donnée dans cet ouvrage, cf. Díez Fernández 1983, p. 28.

<sup>24</sup> Kee 1992, p. 15, écrit: "*the physical proximity makes it impossible that there would not have been extensive economic and cultural contact by inhabitants of Nazareth with this important Roman cultural and administrative center.*"

<sup>25</sup> Neusner 1996, p. 449.

<sup>26</sup> Reed 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 82–83.

<sup>27</sup> Strange 1992, pp. 1050–1051.

<sup>28</sup> Reed 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 82–83.

<sup>29</sup> Strange 1992, pp. 1050–1051 et Horsley 1995, pp. 193–195.

<sup>30</sup> L'estimation est donnée par Easton 1897, [www.ccel.org/e/easton/ebd/ebd.html](http://www.ccel.org/e/easton/ebd/ebd.html). Aujourd'hui, il y a environ 10 000 habitants. Flavius Josèphe, *Guerre des Juifs*, III, 43, écrit que la plus petite des villes de Galilée compte 15 000 habitants.

bres évoqués pour la superficie de la Nazareth antique et pour les Nazaréens vivant à cette époque témoignent d'extrapolations fondées sur bien peu de restes archéologiques exhumés. En grande partie, parce que le site antique est sous le site actuel de la ville de Nazareth et parce que la recherche des traces culturelles primait pour les archéologues affectés au site,<sup>31</sup> les quelques indices exhumés au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle ne permettent pas en fait d'établir avec une grande rigueur une vision d'ensemble de la Nazareth au temps de Jésus.<sup>32</sup> Le perception d'un village<sup>33</sup> à l'époque romaine est donc à prendre avec précaution et demeure relative au regard des 80 000 habitants de Jérusalem à cette époque.

Bien qu'évoquées rapidement dans les rapports de fouilles, des traces d'occupation du site à l'époque de la tablette de Ḥaṣor, l'âge du Bronze, ont été découvertes lors des fouilles de B. Bagatti<sup>34</sup> en 1955. Quelques tombes<sup>35</sup> et quelques restes d'habitation dispersés dateraient du Bronze moyen II B (c. 1800-1650) ou Bronze récent (c. 1550-1180) et du Fer I (c. 1180-1000) et II (c. 1000-539). Dans un ouvrage sur la Basse-Galilée, Z. Gal atteste que l'archéologie, alors biblique, ne s'intéressait qu'aux lieux de culte supposés et avait négligé les traces plus anciennes. Aujourd'hui, une occupation à la date du Bronze récent est avérée.<sup>36</sup>

*These ruins lie in the valley area within which the old city of Nazareth is located, but the total area of the ancient site cannot be determined. The area around the city consists of limestone formation. There are several springs within this small Nazareth valley. The topography of the area, and the fact that it has many surrounding springs, proves that it was occupied during ancient periods.*<sup>37</sup>

En construisant la nouvelle église de l'Annonciation à Nazareth, lors de l'érection des piliers dans les années 1950, des silos furent découverts. Ils contenaient des tessons de poterie, des objets métalliques et un sceau scarabée, l'ensemble date de l'âge du Bronze moyen et récent. De plus, des tombes creusées dans la roche furent exhumées, elles contenaient des poteries de

<sup>31</sup> Bagatti 1960, col. 318-333.

<sup>32</sup> Díez Fernández 1983, pp. 28-29, a examiné de nouveau le matériel exhumé par B. Bagatti lors des fouilles. Les objets recueillis dans les tombes côtés 70 et 71 ne seraient pas à dater avant le milieu de la période romaine, c'est-à-dire environ au II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère. Le matériel de la citerne 51 est daté entre le II<sup>e</sup> et le IV<sup>e</sup> siècles.

<sup>33</sup> Bagatti 1967, p. 9, écrit: "*I Vangeli sono soliti chiamare Nazareth "città" (πόλις), ma che questa parola debba intendersi in senso semitico di "villaggio" appare chiaro sia dal contesto, sia dai resti monumentali.*"

<sup>34</sup> Bagatti 1969, pp. 257-268.

<sup>35</sup> Les tombes ont été localisées dans l'article de Kopp 1938, pp. 191-228.

<sup>36</sup> Gal 1992, p. 15 et Bagatti 1967, pp. 250-260, pour le matériel de l'âge du Bronze.

<sup>37</sup> Une même idée est reprise par Gal 1988-1989, pp. 56-64 et par Finkelstein 1988, pp. 94-97.



l'époque du Fer II.<sup>38</sup> Plus tard, en 1970, d'autres tombes furent découvertes sous l'église Saint-Joseph, elles dataient aussi de l'époque du Fer II.<sup>39</sup> En 1977, S. Loffreda publia un ensemble de poteries découvert dans une tombe rupestre<sup>40</sup> lors de la construction d'une nouvelle maison à Nazareth. Les poteries trouvées seraient à dater entre le milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le X<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère. En fait, elles datent plutôt du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il s'agit du seul exemple d'une nécropole à l'époque du Fer I. Cette tombe n'a pas été localisée, donc on ne peut savoir si la nécropole est à l'intérieur du site, ce qui n'est pas l'usage. Une autre tombe a été découverte récemment, en 2000. Il s'agit d'une tombe creusée dans la roche, localisée à 300 m au sud-ouest de l'église de l'Annonciation. Elle date du XII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles avant E.C., c'est-à-dire l'âge du Fer. La ressemblance des tombes de l'âge du Bronze découvertes à Nazareth avec celles de la même époque mises à jour à Megiddo<sup>41</sup> permettent d'avancer qu'une population vit à Nazareth au moins à partir de l'époque du Bronze moyen (c. 2000-1550),<sup>42</sup> même si le nombre d'habitants ne peut être évalué.

Les dimensions de la Nazareth de Jésus données par le fouilleur du site, B. Bagatti, allant du sanctuaire Saint-Joseph au nord à l'église de l'Annonciation au sud, ne sont que les secteurs sondés et fouillés afin de mettre à jour des restes archéologiques de l'époque de Jésus. Les dimensions plus précises du site de Nazareth à l'âge du Bronze ne sont pas possibles à établir, car la ville actuelle est construite dessus. La ville actuelle colonise tous les flancs de la colline, c'est pourquoi on ne peut envisager une fouille de l'ensemble du site antique. De plus, celui-ci a été bouleversé dès les premiers siècles de notre ère à cause de la sainteté conférée au lieu par la présence prétendue de Jésus. Les quelques tombes fouillées et le matériel découvert à l'intérieur tendraient à infirmer que Nazareth est un hameau où ne réside qu'une faible population aux conditions de vie modestes à l'âge du Bronze. Entre autres exemples, certains tessons de vases<sup>43</sup> attestent la présence d'objets précieux à l'époque du Bronze dans les habitations nazaréennes. Les objets découverts et la structure des tombes

<sup>38</sup> Bagatti 1954-1955, p. 18, Bagatti 1967, pp. 250-260 et Bagatti 1969, pp. 27-76, 184-185, 257-272, Loffreda 1980, pp. 8-9.

<sup>39</sup> Bagatti 1971, pp. 18 et 52.

<sup>40</sup> Loffreda 1977, pp. 135-144.

<sup>41</sup> Pour la comparaison des poteries et autres objets exhumés des tombes sur le site de Nazareth avec le matériel de l'âge du Bronze découvert à Megiddo, cf. Bagatti 1967, pp. 259-260 et Guy et Engerberg 1938.

<sup>42</sup> Harrison 1985, p. 174.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. par exemple, les tessons numérotés 12 et 13 sur la planche 208 et 5-6, 7-8 sur la planche photographique 209.

présentent de fortes similitudes avec les sites de la Basse Galilée mieux documentés, comme par exemple Megiddo. De plus, la région de la Galilée commence à être mieux connue par des fouilles systématiques supervisées ces dernières années par le service des Antiquités israéliennes (IAA). Un récent rapport des fouilles dans la région juste au nord de Nazareth, la Haute Galilée,<sup>44</sup> permet de mettre en évidence le maillage des 14 sites attestés à l'époque du Bronze récent et leur évolution. Les tombes sont peu nombreuses, ce qui peut suggérer une activité pastorale avec un habitat non permanent. Plus largement, le rapport des fouilles permet de répondre plus précisément à deux interprétations quant à la situation démographique de la Galilée à l'époque du Bronze récent. La première interprétation, celle de Y. Aharoni,<sup>45</sup> tentait d'identifier les villes de la liste de Thoutmosis III en Galilée. L'archéologue en conclut qu'il y avait plusieurs villes importantes à l'époque du Bronze récent. Aujourd'hui, cette lecture littérale du document de Thoutmosis a été remise en cause avec raison. Plus récemment, un autre archéologue Z. Gal<sup>46</sup> conclut au contraire à une région désertée à la même époque. Le récent rapport sur l'évolution des sites de la Haute Galilée, à la lumière des fouilles archéologiques, établit un juste milieu entre ces deux interprétations. A la période du Bronze récent, le nombre de sites diminue fortement, mais les auteurs de ce rapport s'empressent d'ajouter que *“une population considérable resta dans la région”*.<sup>47</sup> Sans que cette évolution ne soit expliquée d'un point de vue archéologique, il semble que *“le déclin du nombre de sites est principalement le résultat de la désertion des petits sites ruraux, bien que quelques sites soient aussi identifiés”*. Dans les fouilles archéologiques, cela se traduit par une faible quantité de tessons ramassés dans les strates de la fin de l'âge du Bronze.<sup>48</sup> Par exemple, à Tell Ḥaṣor, le site présente une allure massive à l'époque du Bronze récent (strate XIII) et ressemble à un petit village dans la strate précédente (strate XII). Il est fort probable que Nazareth à l'époque du Bronze se trouvait dans la sphère d'influence de Ḥaṣor. Les quelques éléments matériels recueillis à Nazareth

<sup>44</sup> Frankel *et al.* 2001.

<sup>45</sup> Aharoni 1957.

<sup>46</sup> Gal 1988, pp. 79–84.

<sup>47</sup> Frankel *et al.* 2001, p. 104.

<sup>48</sup> On peut résumer ainsi cette évolution générale des sites de la Haute Galilée selon les rapports archéologiques:

	Nombre de sites	Nouveaux sites	Sites désertés	Sites toujours occupés
Bronze moyen II	52	47	4	5
Bronze récent	14	1	39	12
Fer I	71	62	5	9

et dans les environs proches invitent à suggérer que la Nazareth de l'âge du Bronze ne semble pas réduite à quelques habitations, comme il est supposé à l'époque de Jésus. En revanche, entre la fin de l'âge du Fer I et l'époque romaine, il n'est pas assuré que le site était occupé ou bien, le site était très faiblement peuplé selon le matériel archéologique retrouvé. Un doute sur l'occupation du site est permis pour l'époque hellénistique II (c. 200-63), en revanche, aucun élément ne peut certifier une occupation aux époques du Fer III ou perse (539-332) et à la période hellénistique I (c. 332-200).

À la date de rédaction de la tablette découverte à Tell Ḥaṣor, le Bronze récent (c. 1550-1180), un habitat sur le site de Nazareth est avéré, si bien que le toponyme de "*Nassura*" pourrait être le nom de ce lieu stratégique commandant la route principale entre l'Égypte et l'Asie via Damas. Du qualificatif de "*ville*", au sens de lieu bâti, donné à "*Nassura*" dans la tablette, un souvenir de la locution "*ville de Nazareth*", synonyme de l'âge d'or de Nazareth à l'âge du Bronze, a pu perdurer jusqu'à l'époque des écrits néotestamentaires, malgré le déclin supposé de la ville en terme de population et de superficie entre l'âge du Bronze et le tournant de notre ère.<sup>49</sup> Les motivations rédactionnelles des auteurs néotestamentaires ne peuvent être cependant éludées. Il est possible que ces motivations, quant à la mise en valeur de la résidence du Messie, se soient accompagnées pour les évangélistes d'une recherche de l'histoire de Nazareth, afin d'élucider le choix du lieu de provenance du Messie. Des tréfonds de la mémoire des habitants, l'expression "*ville de Nazareth*" a pu alors resurgir pour rappeler le passé plus glorieux de la ville quelques siècles auparavant.

<sup>49</sup> Aux périodes romaine et byzantine et jusqu'au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, Nazareth est présentée comme un village habité de Juifs selon Eusèbe de Césarée (*Onomasticon* 138) et Epiphane (*Haer.* 30,11,10). D'autres sources littéraires juives présentent Nazareth comme un village de prêtres (*Mishmarot* 18; *Eccles. Rab.* 2,8; cf. Avi-Yonah 1964, pp. 24-28). Un historien du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, Africanus, fait allusion à "*la famille du Seigneur*" qui réside ici, probablement décrit-il des judéo-chrétiens. Jérôme atteste à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'un pèlerinage pour les chrétiens a bien lieu à Nazareth (*Ep.* 46,13; 108,13). A la même époque, Egéria mentionne une grotte incluse plus tard dans l'église de l'Annonciation qui a été consacrée avec un autel, comme le relève Pierre le diacre (*De Locis Sanctis*, P4, T, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175, p. 98). La première mention des églises nazaréennes est à mettre au crédit d'un pèlerin venant de Plaisance (Piacenza) en Italie, Antoninus Placentinus (*Itinerarium* 5, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175, pp. 130-131). Il vit la basilique et la fontaine où Marie avait puisé l'eau et une synagogue où demeure visible le banc sur lequel Jésus s'est assis et a étudié avec les autres enfants nazaréens. Plus tard, Pierre le Diacre indique que la synagogue a été transformée en église. Enfin, Antoninus Placentinus relate les relations amicales qu'entretiennent les Juifs et les chrétiens, sans que l'on sache si les chrétiens résident à Nazareth ou s'ils sont des pèlerins. Le statut de lieu saint bien établi attira une foule de pèlerins et la construction des églises de Nazareth. Le village de Nazareth est alors présenté comme une ville en pleine croissance; le siège d'un archevêché y est même attaché à partir des Croisades.

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# Long-Term Cross-Cultural Relations and State-Formation in Transcaucasian Iberia: *An Annaliste Perspective*

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## Abstract

*This paper argues that Iberia did not form in a vacuum, nor as an imitation of more advanced systems, but was the result of long-term (fifth–second century B. C.) bilateral relationships between local élites and the Persians. Iberia arose to preserve the standing of élites after the collapse of Seleucid Persia<sup>1</sup>.*

The present study has its origins in an attempt at understanding the social and political context in which evolved Samtskhe, in south Georgia, between the sixth century B. C. and the fourth century A. D. It constitutes an extended reflection — eastward — of the main goal of a research project focusing on the interaction between the Greek populations of the Euxine coast in Colchis and those of the hinterland<sup>2</sup>. The project's initial goal was

<sup>1</sup> The present paper constitutes a revised and slightly expanded version of a talk delivered to the Second International Conference on Transcaucasian Iberia during Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Times, Tbilisi, September 2000. It integrates considerations resulting from the numerous questions and comments made by the participants during the conference. The research project from which it derives was financed by a generous multi-year grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The presence of the author in Tbilisi was made possible by a travel grant from Bilkent University, Ankara.

<sup>2</sup> The *Joint Georgian-Canadian Samtskhe Archaeological Expedition* was conducted in collaboration with V. Licheli of the *Centre for Archaeological Research*, Tbilisi. Its goal was to document contacts and interaction of the hinterland specifically with the Greek populations of the Colchian coast. Fieldwork was conducted between the summers of 1993 and 1998 at Atsq'uri, on the Mtkvari river. Few results have been published as of this writing, but see: Licheli 1997; Morin 1997; Morin forthcoming.

extended, therefore, to investigate whether any incontrovertible evidence could be adduced to prove the inclusion of Samtskhe in the Iberian kingdom or, alternately, to confirm it as a purely marginal zone outside of any formal state control<sup>3</sup>.

Most studies and commentaries date the emergence of Iberia to the beginning of the third century B. C., seemingly following the Georgian historical traditions augmented with archaeological data, pertaining mostly to the site of Mtskheta<sup>4</sup>. The lack of any explanation for the creation of Iberia, in the ancient and modern sources, beyond invocation of the agency of its first king is striking<sup>5</sup>. Such studies give the impression that Iberia sprung *ex nihilo*, perhaps in imitation of the developed states on its periphery: the then collapsed Persian Empire, and the rising Seleucid kingdom replacing it.

Others emphasize the importance of Achaemenid culture in Iberia<sup>6</sup>, illustrated by several metal *phialae* and their imitation in clay, or buildings — such as fire temples<sup>7</sup> — and architectural elements scattered over Iberian territory. Most writers limit themselves to listing the imported finds and commenting on their discovery as artefacts representative of Persian influence through their imitation in local culture. Very little energy appears to have been expended on trying to understand how the objects and constructions were integrated to the local culture, or what specific part they played

<sup>3</sup> The Classical sources are relatively vague on this subject. Herodotus, iii.94, places the *Moschoi*, the ancient inhabitants of this territory within the 19<sup>th</sup> satrapy, therefore within the Achaemenid Empire, while Strabo, xi.2.18, states that at his time power over the territory was divided up between the Colchians, Iberians and Armenians. Neither statement can be corroborated by archaeological evidence, for the data is insufficient.

<sup>4</sup> This attitude results from a literal reading of the Georgian historical tradition, which describes the emergence of Iberia as a full-fledged state following conquest by Parnavaz, a nobleman of Georgian and Persian heritage, and his reorganisation of the state structures on the Persian model (see *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, pp. 20-26; English translation Thomson 1996, pp. 28-38). Lordkipanidze 1991, pp. 156-159, provides an archaeological overview of the same period and accepts the dates provided by the literary tradition. The foundation date of the kingdom, as well as the historical validity of the Georgian tradition, however, have been challenged by Meissner 2000, who argues convincingly that the Georgian tradition constitutes a reflection of the Armenian chronicles. He sets the foundation date of Iberia at the end of the second century B. C. This paper does not consider the Georgian tradition as a valid guide to the reconstruction neither of the social and power structure of Iberia nor for its date.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible to attribute the creation of a state and its institutions to an individual; such cases are documented historically and have been used in archaeological reconstructions (see in particular four cases presented by Flannery 1999). It remains perilous, nevertheless, to trust such reconstructions in the absence of accurate historical records and detailed archaeological data.

<sup>6</sup> See notably Gagoshidze 1996 for a recent summary of the evidence, and Knauß 1999, especially, for the architectural remains.

<sup>7</sup> Kimiashvili & Narimanishvili 1995-1996.



in its definition and development, beyond vague notions of cultural osmosis<sup>8</sup>. In a sense, consequently, the question of how the local inhabitants used this foreign culture remains largely unasked, if we except the notion of diplomatic gifts, which is applied to some of the more precious finds<sup>9</sup>. The same investigators rightly underline, on the other hand, the important impact of Persian culture on local ways of life by commenting upon evidence for Mazdeism in the local population, close association of the royal family with Persia and the influence of Persian on the Georgian language<sup>10</sup>.

In spite of such evidence, there are no attempts in the current literature to analyse the long-term Persian involvement in the countryside, in terms of its influence on the foundation of Iberia. This situation is caused not by deficient scholarship, but follows from Classical research traditions favouring an exclusive focus on the material culture itself, and reluctance to link it to economic, social and political processes, in the absence of literary documentation to this effect<sup>11</sup>. It also manifests the absence of a theoretical framework, which would allow the examination of the nature of Persian interaction with the local population in a long-term perspective and permit a proper assessment of the impact of the Persian presence in the area. The Persians must be emphasized, in the first instance, because the Achaemenid Empire was, between the fifth and late fourth century B. C., the only force that mattered politically in the area, and the sole entity powerful enough to ensure stability in the face of incursions by warrior groups crossing the Caucasus, usually identified as Scythians in the literature<sup>12</sup>.

The influence of the Western world, represented by Pontic Greek culture, was negligible during this critical period, whereas in the following centuries, *i.e.* after the Alexandrine conquest of Persia, Greek culture gradually rose to prominence<sup>13</sup>. The minimal evidence provided, in Iberian terri-

<sup>8</sup> See Gagoshidze 1996, pp. 126–127, for a description of the gradual adoption of Persian cultural material and norms.

<sup>9</sup> Gagoshidze 1996, p. 129.

<sup>10</sup> Gagoshidze 1996, pp. 135–136, lists the presence of temples of fire, zoroastrian theophoric names among Georgian kings, as well as loan words from Persian in Georgian.

<sup>11</sup> Gagoshidze 1996, p. 126, reflecting on borrowings in material culture, is typical of the attitude when he comments that the process is complex.

<sup>12</sup> Such incursions are exemplified by finds of Early Scythian type arrowheads in the core area of Iberia, dated to the first half of the seventh century B. C. and later. See Motzenbäker 1997, pp. 374–378, with a distribution map. See also Braund 1994, pp. 45–46, on the path of the Scythian invasion of Media and, pp. 130–131, for other signs of North Caucasian influence on the area.

<sup>13</sup> This phenomenon, beyond the purview of the present paper (but see Morin forthcoming), is shown by the presence in the Caspian watershed, beginning with the third century B. C., of diagnostic architectural forms and materials — such as the mausoleum at Bagineti or roof tiles throughout the territory — and elements of culture and belief among the population — for example coins in graves. The process culminated during Roman times when

tory, by imports from the Black Sea area — so far limited to a handful of Archaic and Classical sherds — excludes that the limited cultural or economic contacts with the Greek populations of the coastal area be considered as more than superficial. The impact of Hellenic culture and the way of life of the *polis* were, in fact, limited to the presence of objects. The evidence available suggests that exchanges with the Greek world did not lead to social transformation, let alone to the formation of a developed political structure, whose expression as a kingdom was at odds with the classical norm in the first place.

An examination of the question of state formation in recent literature reveals several models, explaining the gradual development of social institutions, building-up within simple egalitarian or segmented societies through internal or external agencies<sup>14</sup>. Maintaining that any state could emerge simply by imitation of a powerful neighbour ignores the complexity of social processes<sup>15</sup>. Imitation, emulation and competition for resources and prestige may play the role of social and political catalyst between polities at the same level of development, but such is clearly not the case of Iberia *vis-à-vis* Persia<sup>16</sup>.

The reconstruction that follows is based in great part on general theoretical considerations and does not derive from the observation of a record of

Iberia acted as a buffer state in the Caucasus between the Romans and Persians. Lordkipanidze 1991, pp. 156–176, provides a description of these monuments, and Braund 1994, pp. 123–151, *passim*, analyses the history of the period.

<sup>14</sup> Theoretical approaches developed to explain how states emerge are too numerous to be reviewed in this format. They range from purely evolutionary models based on ecological and economic phenomena, which emphasize the internal processes of resource exploitation, redistribution and attendant development of élite social structures, to models describing the effects of interaction between heterogeneous societies at varying stages of development. A large group of studies representing a cross-section of theoretical approaches and case studies can be found in Gledhill, Bender & Larson 1988, among which Gledhill 1988, especially pp. 23–27, and Ward Gailey & Patterson 1988 offer overviews of the question.

<sup>15</sup> In this respect, the story of Parnavaz (*supra* n. 4) should not be considered as a reliable narrative. The agency of an individual creating a state and its institutions as a historical reality has been explored by Flannery 1999, who points out that such developments can be understood as the result of competition among chieftains for dominance over extended territories. The newly created institutions generally find their origin in a re-interpretation and modification of traditional social forms, not the wholesale borrowing of established foreign institutions. Although there may be resemblances between the story of Parnavaz and such historically documented cases, detailed examination of the latter demonstrate the superficiality of the similarities.

<sup>16</sup> The concept of peer-polity interaction has been used to explain the emergence and development of small-scale states in several parts of the world: the Mediterranean, Iron Age Europe, Mesoamerica and East Asia (see Renfrew & Cherry 1986). The applied studies suggest that this type of process functions adequately in the case of polities comparable in size, which share a common culture.

physical archaeological data. Several features of social evolution leave little traces in the archaeological record, or hard to interpret evidence. Many may be tempted, therefore, to dismiss this exercise as overly speculative, but the study of social process, in particular the mechanisms of acculturation, needs to be addressed to enhance our understanding of historical trajectories and to suggest potentially productive avenues of investigation. All of the proposals made below can be documented, some by referring to elements of Persian history, some in the anthropological and archaeological literature.

Several assumptions about the development level of Iberia in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B. C. need to be made clear. First is that prior to Persian involvement in the region, the population of the territory of later Iberia lived in a roughly egalitarian or segmented society<sup>17</sup>. Élite groups must have existed at local levels, but they controlled territories limited in extent, perhaps centred on individual villages or groups of related villages. Societies were situated, from a developmental perspective, at the chiefdom level. There was no state, only local entities based on personal kinship loyalty relations. There may have been several, autonomous supra-local groupings also based on relations of kinship: clans, tribes, etc; none of them could be characterised as an ethnic group in the modern sense of the term, however. They probably fought one another, in a typical process of chiefly cycling, where each individual chief attempted to subjugate his neighbours only to be thwarted at a further step of the cycle<sup>18</sup>. One could say that conceptually Iberia and the Iberians did not yet exist at the beginning of the fifth century<sup>19</sup>.

The narrative proposed below is based on an *Annaliste* approach emphasizing the aspects of *longue durée* and *mentalité*. The two concepts need to be viewed concurrently, since disruptive events provoke changes in the mind-set over long periods of time. The approach is based on the notion that the mind-sets of people, in normal circumstances — *i.e.* when populations are left to their own designs — are not subject to much modi-

<sup>17</sup> Such a level of socio-political development can be recognised in the archaeological record of the region by the lack of structures associated with the state, such as urban settlements and monumental buildings, or the absence of clear indications for social hierarchy, such as a narrow range of wealth deposited in graves and the absence of recognisable symbols of power. This state of affairs contrasts with the situation in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age when rich graves are known, for instance at Treligorebi, and wealthy temple complexes at Meligele and Melaani (Lordkipanidze 1991, pp. 88–92). No easy explanation can be offered for the collapse of this social system, although Scythian incursions may have contributed to its demise (Braund 1994, pp. 45–46).

<sup>18</sup> See Flannery 1999, pp. 4–5, with references.

<sup>19</sup> Herodotus iii.94, for one, mentions neither Iberia nor the Iberians in his list of tributaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> satrapy.

fication. When the established order of things is disturbed by a traumatic event, however, society will adapt to the new situation and its mind-set may change as a result<sup>20</sup>.

The recent discovery of the large building at Gumbati<sup>21</sup> provides us with the possibility of applying such a perspective to the question of state formation in Iberia. It allows us to integrate an element suggesting close involvement of the Persians with local society. The building must be associated with the Persians, in spite of the uncertainty about the formal status of the region with respect to the Empire, because it is characteristic of Persian state-sponsored-, or Palace-, architecture, in style and technique, in plan and in scale, as is demonstrated by comparison with several other structures<sup>22</sup>. Whether the occupant of the building was, to paraphrase F. Knauf's expression, a Persian satrap or vassal, or an autonomous local chieftain, in the end, matters little<sup>23</sup>, for one should not underestimate the compelling power of symbols. What really counts is the message conveyed to the observer: the "palace" symbolises the Persian Empire; by building it at Gumbati the Persians projected power up to the foothills of the Caucasus whether they occupied the edifice themselves or through proxy. The erection of this structure and its association with the Persians, therefore, need not imply that they conquered any Iberian territory. In fact, conquest was not necessary to effect long-term interaction with local society; the intimidating presence of an official Persian building was sufficient.

In the theoretical scheme delineated above, the construction of the building, along with the concomitant Persian incursion in the region, constitutes the traumatic event, whose long-term consequences will be to modify the social equilibrium in the area, bring about its realignment along Achaemenid interests and, in the end, create the state of Iberia.

<sup>20</sup> On the concepts and historiography of the *Annaliste* approach in history and considerations for its application to archaeological problems, see Bindliff 1991 and Knapp 1992a; for a specifically structuralist historical approach see Leroy-Ladurie 1973. A useful application of this approach to an archaeological problem can be found in a study by Knapp 1992b on the aftermath of the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and the subsequent military conquest by Egypt of the Levant. In the ensuing centuries the Egyptians effected the long-term domination of the region through cooptation of the local élites. They were nurtured and protected by the Egyptians, and their individual power was enhanced through their privileged relationship with Egypt. They became integrated over time into a network of dependency towards their new masters as a result of which they abandoned their claims for independence and their region henceforth constituted an ideal buffer zone between Egypt and its Near-Eastern neighbours beyond the Levant (Knapp 1992b, pp. 93–94).

<sup>21</sup> Furtwängler 1995, Furtwängler & Knauf 1996, 1997, pp. 353–354, Knauf 1999, pp. 85–92.

<sup>22</sup> Knauf 1999, pp. 98–105.

<sup>23</sup> Knauf 1999, p. 100. In the benefit of brevity, the term Persian will be used with respect to Gumbati in a very loose sense, always meaning, in fact, Persian or Persian vassal or local chieftain.

The territorial range overseen by the building at Gumbati remains unknown. The distance between it and three similar buildings<sup>24</sup>, however, suggests that, beyond its immediate surroundings, its power reached well into the territory of later Iberia, and certainly included the area of Mtskheta, its capital. This zone of influence, however ill defined, should correspond to the core of future Iberia.

Whatever were their initial intentions — to secure conquered territory, guard the border of their empire, or create a buffer between them and potentially hostile forces — the Persians needed to ensure the collaboration of the peoples inhabiting the area where their new building was erected, so that it would fulfill its purposes. The simplest way of accomplishing this at minimal cost was by co-opting the local élites by making them allies; the Persians needed to develop a set of relationships with the individual village, clan or tribal leaders in which privileges, and therefore prestige, were proffered to each individual in exchange for services and loyalty. The advantages bestowed by the Persians on local chiefs are potentially numerous: titles, “diplomatic gifts”, or privileged relations with local Persian representatives, few of which will leave any clear traces in the archaeological record. In return, the obligations of the local chieftains may have been military (recruiting, maintaining and leading soldiers, fighting for the Persians elsewhere in the Empire) or financial (collecting taxes and tribute, offering gifts to the king)<sup>25</sup>.

Very little archaeological or literary evidence can be marshalled to prove the applicability of my point to this particular instance, but such practices are known throughout the territory of the Persian Empire. There is a way, however, around this obstacle. It is to attempt an evaluation of the economics implied in the construction and maintenance of the Gumbati edifice. The Persians needed to secure a regular supply of resources to garrison the “palace”, as well as equip and feed its occupants. One could always argue that the necessary resources were brought in from the royal treasury, but this would not have been without serious risk of loss or theft, not to mention the need to feed and pay continuously the contingent re-supplying the out-post. It may be simpler to posit that as much of the resources as possible were collected locally by the authorities occupying the building and their agents, the local élites. Since the Persians, or their representatives, by

<sup>24</sup> Or remains attributable to such buildings, at Sari Tepe, Benjamin and Qaracamirli Köyi, all between 80 and 120 km from each other (Furtwängler & Knauß 1996, pp. 377–379).

<sup>25</sup> On gift exchange, the bestowal of titles and the financial and military obligations among Persians and between the Persians and their subjects, see Briant 1996, pp. 316–335 and pp. 406–427.

protecting a sensitive area against the incursion of forces bent on gaining booty (such as the Scythians) were providing a service, albeit not altruistically, they may have felt justified in demanding a contribution from the locals whose interests they coincidentally also protected.

In this scheme of things the local élites would have become the intermediaries through which were conducted a series of exchanges profitable to both sides. The Persians would have gained a stable border (or new province in the advent of an actual conquest), a supply of troops they could use at their own discretion, and perhaps even some financial gain. The tribal chiefs would have obtained positions (with the Persians) and resources of several kinds enhancing their prestige in their local communities. If one of their principal tasks was to transmit funds and supplies to Gumbati, we can suspect that they collected more than they delivered, thus increasing their wealth and the productivity of their economic systems. Consequently, at a local level they would have been able to add to the numbers in their entourage and increase *ipso facto* not only the ranks of the élite but the complexity of its structure. A similar phenomenon may have occurred at a regional level, with village chiefs competing with each other for favours from a hierarchical superior, thus developing acceptance of a (Persian imposed) hierarchy, and eventually ranking each other in their own (locally developed) hierarchy.

By favouring the emergence of such a network of relationships and nurturing it through time, the Persians may have sought only the advantage of their own political structure. But an incidental consequence of their practices would have been to establish the conditions on the basis of which Iberian society could evolve the structures — economic, social and mental, requisite to the management of a full fledged state. These were, for the élite: a strain of revenue, a network of mutual obligations building towards cohesiveness, mutual recognition and respect, as well as a history of successful collaboration. Once these conditions were set in place, association with a privileged class dependant upon the Persian overlords would have emerged in the first instance, and later perhaps, constitution into a regional ethnic group, replacing the traditional village, clan or tribe loyalties, and finally construction of a new identity: that of Iberians.

As long as the Persians maintained control at Gumbati the process delineated above existed as latent potential, but after the Empire was defeated and its successor collapsed as a result of the infighting of Alexander's successors, a power vacuum ensued, in which it could realise itself. The local élites may have seen themselves, at that point, as a fully constituted hereditary

aristocracy<sup>26</sup>, with such personal interests vested in their social networks that it became essential to preserve them. The benefits these networks generated formed the very basis of the social order they dominated. In order to preserve the revenue levels and the prestige to which they had become accustomed and which they considered as their right, they had to replace the Persian state structure with one of their own, otherwise the whole system could have unravelled. With all the social institutions in place and functional, creating and legitimating a state was a simple step forward.

There was a lag between the end of the Persian Empire and the emergence of a full-fledged Iberia<sup>27</sup>. Either Gumbati survived as a power centre and replaced the Empire at a regional level, or the leading local aristocrats, freed from their masters, vied for power, with none strong enough to establish himself as king. Evidence indicating Seleucid control over Iberia is slight; it is unlikely that their control encompassed all of the Transcaucasus for any length of time<sup>28</sup>, but their presence at the core of the Old Persian Empire might have been the catalyst necessary to force the local grandees to come to terms with each other and choose a king. We should not ignore either the possibility that the ruler of Mtskheta actually conquered his neighbours.

To sum up, it appears necessary to address the question of the archaeological visibility of the social process described above, and to suggest research directions. The question is not an easy one to answer. Most social and economic processes do not leave direct material traces in the archaeological record, but they can be recognised through patterns at a regional level. Settlement patterns can reflect the development of a social and political hierarchy. Centres of power tend to grow larger than ordinary towns or villages; one should be able to recognise them, reconstitute a hierarchy of sites and follow its development through time. There may also be localised discontinuity in the archaeological record, reflecting the vagaries of the

<sup>26</sup> The process underlying social evolution in itself, because it is general, cannot predict the specific form of the social structure, for it depends to a great extent on antecedent social circumstances; only historical documents are of value in describing it. Our main source on this subject is Strabo's description (Strabo xi.3.6) of the Iberian's fourfold social structure. Although the scheme described by him could have resulted from the mechanism described above, it is difficult to connect the two incontrovertibly. Strabo's description is problematic because it is late; the social structure he describes could have resulted from processes acting after the period under consideration. The notion that his text reflects an early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. situation (Lordkipanidze 1996, pp. 208–212), which depends on considerations of now lost sources perhaps used by the geographer, strain credulity. Serious doubts have been expressed also as to the accuracy of Strabo's account (Meissner 2000, p. 134 nn. 29 & 30).

<sup>27</sup> On the foundation date of Iberia, see n. 4 *supra*.

<sup>28</sup> See Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993, pp. 7–8, and especially Braund 1994, pp. 144–145, on the possibility that Seleukos I Nikator did control Iberia.

process itself: an unwilling chieftain may be left out of the network and his village may collapse as a result, for instance. Successful villages will often include structures, monumental or, at the very least, consistently larger than average: a mansion for the lord of the place, large houses for his entourage, fortifications. They may show traces of incipient urbanism: paved streets, public buildings such as temples, *etc*; one would expect the architectural style to reflect that of Persia. Obligations in kind towards the authorities, such as *corvée*, tribute, taxes and gifts constitute an incentive to a more efficient economy, as individuals are forced to produce more in order to survive. The redistribution of resources effected through these obligations allows, on the other hand, the élites to indulge in the conspicuous consumption of goods. From the peasant's point of view, life may appear as bleak, whatever the economic system, but the overall wealth of the society, albeit unevenly distributed, should increase. Admittedly, the increase would be small if one considers that a sizeable portion of the redistribution was made towards Gumbati. This may be recognised in the relative proportion of visible wealth, both in settlements and deposited as funerary offerings, and in its distribution: house size, or quantity and quality of goods. Frequencies can be plotted over time to draw chronological conclusions. Finally, one should look for imports and imitations therefrom as indications of prestige goods.

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# Red-Painted Pottery of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid Periods from Caucasus (Iberia): Stylistic Analysis and Chronology

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## Abstract

*One of the identifying features of the Achaemenid period in Trans-Caucasus is red-painted pottery. This paper identifies four styles of painted pottery in Georgia — Triangle, Samadlo, Kazreti and Samtavro — that are attributable to the fifth–first century B. C., and examines their origins and development.*

The earliest examples of the painted pottery in the territory of Georgia appear at sites of the fourth millennium B. C.<sup>1</sup> They are very rarely found in third millennium contexts.<sup>2</sup> From the beginning of the second millennium to the middle of the first millennium B. C., the painted tradition was wide spread in the Trialeti cultural region.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, this tradition ceased, and pottery was then ornamented with incised or polished geomet-

<sup>1</sup> Gogelia, Chelidze and Avalishvili 1991, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Dzhavakhishvili and Glonti 1962, pp. 35–36.

<sup>3</sup> Dzhaparidze 1969, pp. 122–129.

ric figures. After a hiatus of nearly 1000 years, in the Achaemenid period, painted pottery appeared again, and during the fourth to second centuries B. C., it was spread so widely that this period is often referred to by its painted ceramics.<sup>4</sup>

Kuftin first found painted pottery of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid periods in Georgia in 1947, in the village of Kushchi.<sup>5</sup> Later a large amount of this ware, dated from the fifth to the first century B. C., was unearthed at Samadlo, Tsiikhiagora, Uplistsikhe, and so on. It is to be noted that the vast majority of the Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid painted wares from Georgia is monochrome. Most examples are decorated with red paint, but some are white-painted. To date, polychrome examples are rare, and painted in black, white and red.<sup>6</sup>

The subject of this paper concerns the red-painted pottery of the fifth to first centuries B. C. from Georgia. There are differing opinions concerning the problem of the origin and chronology of this pottery.<sup>7</sup> We believe that the stylistic analysis of the entire assemblage when considered with the well-dated complexes that yielded red-painted pottery can help to clarify this problem.

Based on stylistic analysis, we distinguish four styles of painted pottery in Georgia from the fifth to first centuries B. C.:

1. The Triangle style
2. The Samadlo style
3. The Kazreti style
4. The Samtavro style

### 1. The Triangle style

The triangle motifs are coated on the polished or slipped surfaces of the vessels. Some vessels have other ornaments such as herringbones, zig-zags, oblique lines and so on, but they are of secondary importance. The decoration is divided into main groups: [A] triangles with their point up (**Fig. 1:1–3, 5**) and [B] triangle with their point turned down (**Fig. 4:1–12**).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Gagoshidze 1979, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> Kuftin 1948, pp. 7–10.

<sup>6</sup> Makharadze 1999, pp. 57–58, pls 3:2, 5:28.

<sup>7</sup> Gagoshidze 1979, pp. 91–92; Narimanishvili 1990, pp. 77–79.

<sup>8</sup> The name of the site where the pottery was found, the number of the grave or context within the site is given in the key to the figures.

*Group [A]*

The main ornamentation of Group [A] is painted on the body of the vessel and occurs in two rows. The triangles are painted between horizontal lines. A part of the triangles, occurring in one row are filled with a net-like pattern (Fig. 1:1–9). Others are partly filled with the same ornament (Fig. 2:4, 6, 9). On two vessels between the net-filled triangles, are triangles in-filled with triangles (Fig. 2:1–2, 4). One jug is painted with unfilled and partly filled triangles (Fig. 2:5) and two vessels are decorated with unfilled triangles (Fig. 2:7–8).

The triangles that are located in one row are ornamented with the following combinations:

[A:1] — on the upper row are net-like patterns and oblique lines and on the lower row are oblique lines (Fig. 3:1)

[A:2] — triangles within triangles are painted on both rows (Fig. 3:2)

[A:3] — triangles with oblique lines in both rows (Fig. 3:3)

[A:4] — triangles within triangles are painted in the upper row and a net patterns in-fill the triangles on the lower register (Fig. 3:4)

[A:5] — the rows are divided by a herringbone pattern (Fig. 3:5)

The two-handled vessel from Bazaleti is very important as it is of the [A:5] subgroup and the inner rim is painted with a decoration of Group [B] (Fig. 3:5). It should be noted that the decoration of vessels of Group [A] painted in two rows covers most of the body (Fig. 3:1–5).

*Group [B]*

The triangles of Group [B] are painted in one row. The triangle patterns with the point down are filled with oblique lines. The herringbone ornament, zig-zags, net and horizontal lines painted on the neck and the widest part of the vessel (Fig. 4:1–4). The decoration of the vessel from Shavsakdara II (Fig. 4:12) is very close to the decoration of Group [B], but we can see some other details on the vessel. Typologically, the jug is very similar to those from Dachrilebi (Fig. 4:10–11), which are decorated with patterns of Group [B].

Besides the two groups of triangular decorations, there are some examples of that are decorated with triangles, but which cannot be grouped through their stylistic features (Fig. 6:3–4, 7, 9).

The triangular style apparently appeared in Georgia in the fifth or fourth centuries B. C., and there are several points of view about the origin of this ornament. We think that there were two main trends that led to this style. The first was the local pottery of the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age, which is

decorated with polished or incised triangles filled with oblique and net-like patterns (Figs 7:1–7; 9:1–11). This ornamentation is very close to the painted designs of Groups [A] and [B] [incised ornament (Fig. 8:1–5); painted ornament (Fig. 8:6–16)]. As for the second influence, it evidently came from the Achaemenid world.<sup>9</sup> In determining the date of the pottery painted with triangles, one should note the decisive role played by the rich burials from Vani that contain vessels ornamented with triangles of Group [B] (Fig. 4:7–9), as well as imported material and coins, which gives a date in the second half of the fourth century B. C.<sup>10</sup> The pottery from Takhtisdziri decorated with the ornament of Group [B] (Fig. 4:4–6) is dated to the same period. We can say, therefore, that the painting of Group [B] may be dated to the second half of the fourth century B. C.

Unfortunately we have no well-dated complexes for Group [A]. There are, however, some complexes that can help us determine an upper date. The complex of grave no. 175 from Varsimaantkari (Fig. 25:7–15) seems to be more archaic than the complexes that contains painted pottery of Group [B]. The complex of grave no. 3 from Kushchi (Fig. 23:1–15) contains the glass kohl-tube unguentarium (Fig. 23:13), which circulated in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.<sup>11</sup> So we can state that the painted tradition of Group [A] could be dated to the corresponding Achaemenid period, which is earlier than the appearance of the painted tradition of Group [B], although at this stage the exact date is problematic. Later, the two styles co-existed.

In the necropolis of Shavsakdara II, in grave no. 12, two jugs were found (Fig. 28:6–8). One is decorated with a Group [A] design, and the other, carries a Group [B] motif, but the design is characteristic and may be a later variation. In the latest phase of the triangular painted style, perhaps dated from the first half of the third century B. C., solid-painted chevrons appear alongside of triangles. On the vessels from the Etso necropolis (Fig. 5:7, 9) and from the Teladgori settlement (Fig. 5:10), the chevrons and triangles of Group [A] are of equal importance.

## 2. The Samadlo style

In the Samadlo style the paint coats the polished or slipped surfaces of the vessels. The pottery is decorated with zoomorphic and anthropomor-

<sup>9</sup> Narimanishvili 1990, pp. 70–79.

<sup>10</sup> Lordkipanidze, *et al.* 1972, p. 202; Tolordava 1986, p. 91.

<sup>11</sup> Saginashvili 2000, pp. 72–74, 76.

phic figures and geometric forms. Solid-painted chevrons are arranged in one or two rows, as usual with points turned toward the base of the vessel. This style is often seen on the larger vessels — pithoi and kraters (Figs 11; 12:2; 13; 16:5–6). It is the dominant style in the Hellenistic level of the Samadlo settlement, which is dated to the middle of the third century B. C. and the beginning of the second century B. C.<sup>12</sup> The dating is based on black-glazed imported wares (Fig. 15:11, 13–14). Examples of the Samadlo Style are represented at such important sites as Tsikhiagora (Figs 17; 18:1–2; 19:2–3). This style continues its existence in the upper Hellenistic level of the Samadlo settlement, which is dated to the second century B. C.<sup>13</sup> The dating is based on the imported amphorae from the North Black sea shore (Fig. 15:12). The vessels, which are ornamented only with chevrons (Figs 5:1–2, 7–9; 28:11), seem to be very close to the Samadlo Style, but they do not carry all of the features of this style. They may be dated to the period before the appearance of the Samadlo Style.

In Georgia there are very few examples of painted pottery which are decorated with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures, and they are quite different to the Samadlo Style (Figs 10:2, 12:1). The paint is monochrome and applied to slipped and polished surfaces. The complexes, which contain this type of pottery are dated to the same period as the triangular Group [B]. Hence, we believe that the development of the Samadlo Style was influenced by the earlier tradition of painting. This process was the result of close contacts between Georgia and the Hellenistic world.

### 3. The Kazreti style

This style was contemporary with the Samadlo. In the lower Hellenistic levels of the Samadlo and Tsikhiagora settlements, a simplified and degraded form of painted pottery appears. It is painted on to rough surfaces, on the main body of the vessel. This ware is common in the Telebis Veli necropolis at Kazreti (Figs 19:10–11; 20:2, 5–6). It is also represented at Samadlo, Tsikhiagora, Teladgori, and Nastakisi, in upper Hellenistic contexts (Figs 14:17; 19:1, 4–5, 7, 10). The Kazreti style can be dated to the second half of the second century B. C. to the first half of the first centuries B. C. This dating is based on the complexes at Kazreti, which contained blue glass polyhedrons (Figs 34:1–13; 35:13–23).

<sup>12</sup> Gagoshidze 1979, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Gagoshidze 1979, p. 47.

#### 4. The Samtavro style

The Samtavro style of painting appears on rough surfaces. It is characterised by zig-zags, wavy lines, and points (Figs 19:6, 8–9, 11; 20:3, 7–11; 21:1–19). Aspects of the previous styles can be found among the examples of the Samtavro style, but they are of secondary importance here. The earliest examples of the Samtavro style coexist with the Samadlo and Kazreti styles in late contexts in the Teladgori settlement.<sup>14</sup> This type of pottery is represented in the Bambebi necropolis where the complexes can be dated on the basis of Parthian coins to the second half of the first century B. C. to the first half of the first century A. D. (Fig. 35:1–15).<sup>15</sup> The pottery painted in the Samtavro style occurs in the graves of the same period in Samtavro and Agaiani (Fig. 21: 5–6, 11–14). Hence the Samtavro style can be dated to the second half of the first century B. C. to the first half of the first century A. D.

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<sup>14</sup> Tskitishvili, *et al.* 1991, p. 67, pls 166–167.

<sup>15</sup> Khakhutaishvili 1964, p. 82.



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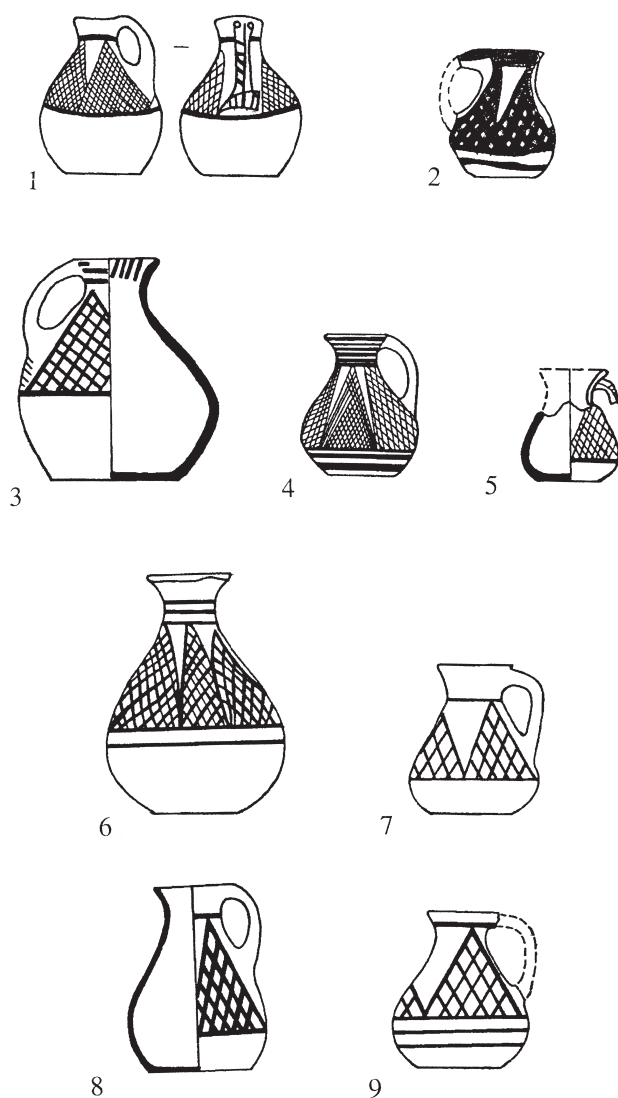


Fig. 1. 1. Shavsakdara II; 2. Kamarachevi; 3. Mtskhetijvari; 4. Asureti; 5. Papigora;  
6. Chalipira; 7. Etso; 8. Kotishi; 9. Etso.

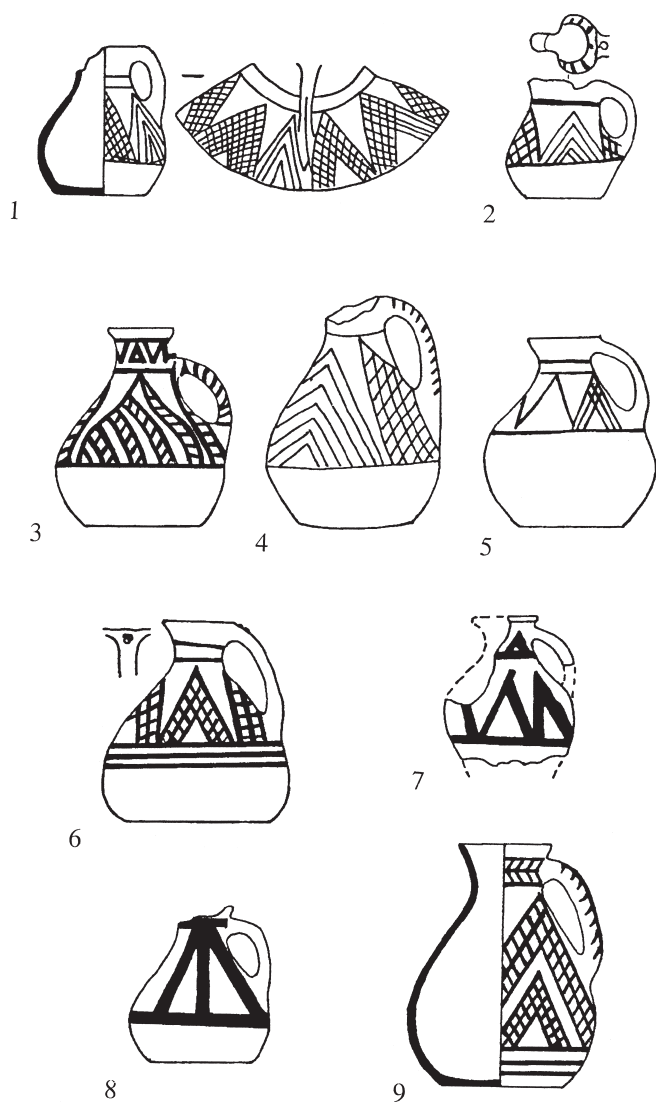


Fig. 2. 1. Shavsakdara; 2. Kamarachevi; 3. Varismaantkari; 4. Tbilisi; 5. Sakraveli; 6, 8. Etso; 7. Papigora; 9. Natsargora.

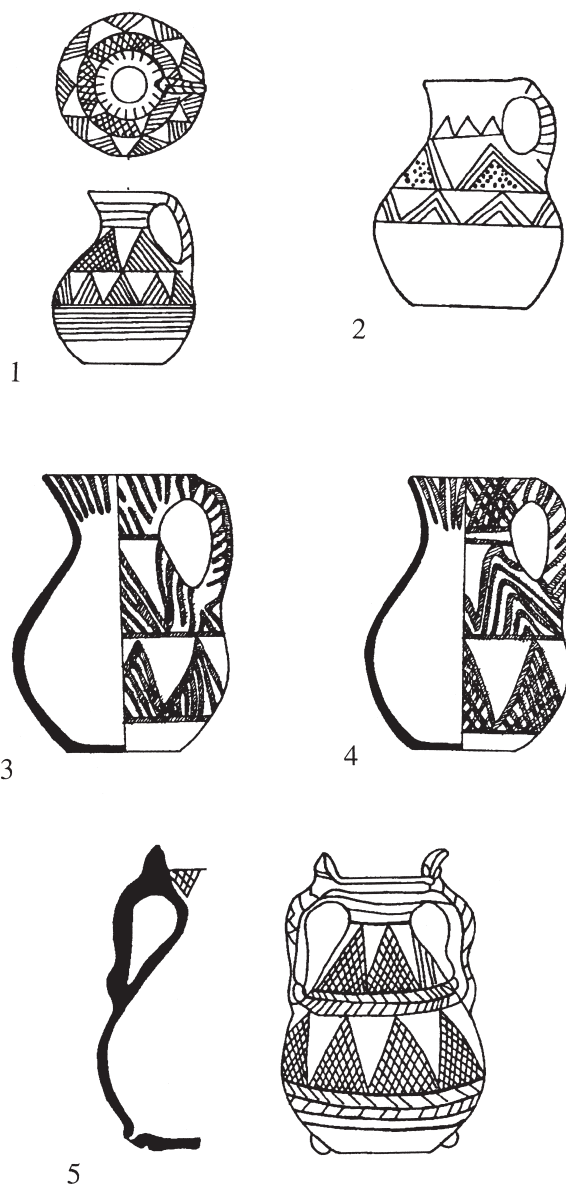


Fig. 3. 1. Abulmugi; 2. Varismaantkari; 3-4. Kushchi; 5 Bazaleti.

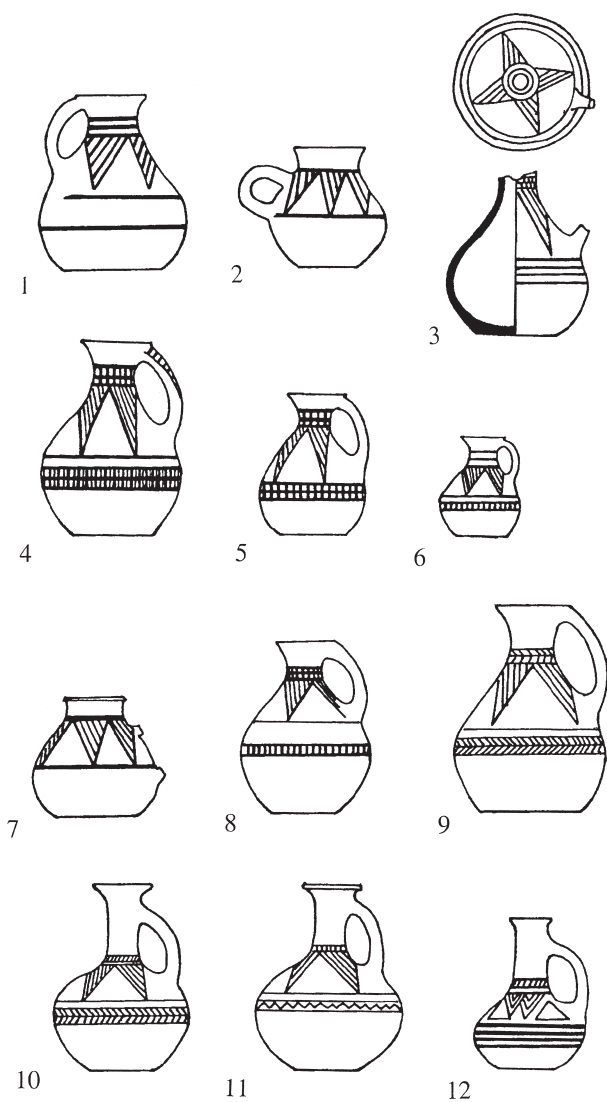


Fig. 4. 1–2 Mtskhetijvari; 3. Dirbi; 4–6 Takhtidziri; 7–9: Vani; 10–11 Dachrilebi; 12 Shavsakdara II.

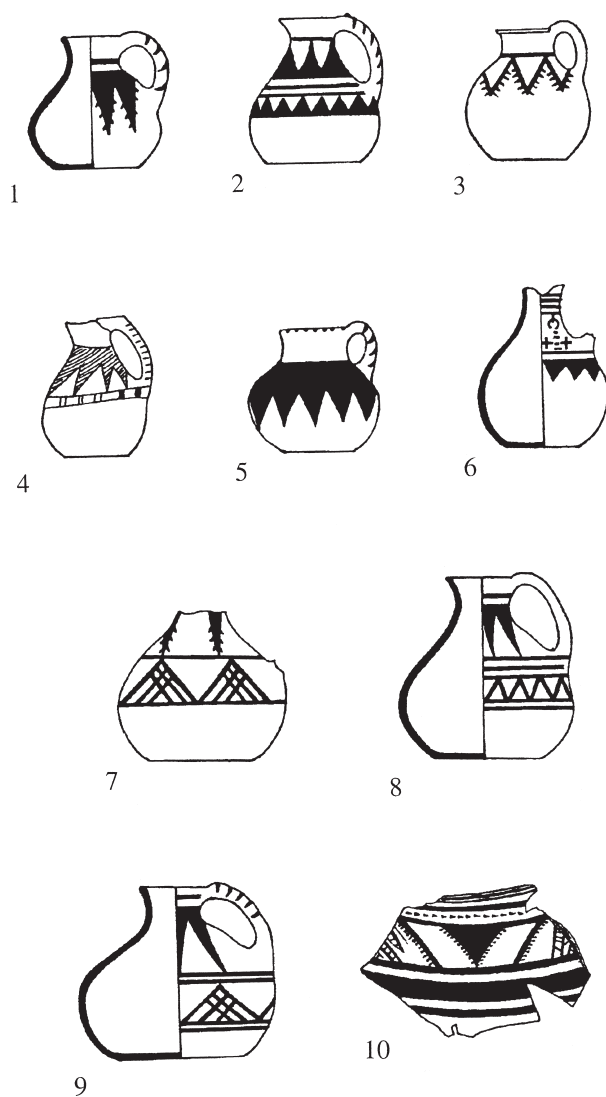


Fig. 5. 1-2, 7-9 Etso; 3: Bambebi; 4: Okhera; 5: Marabda; 6: Dachrilebi; 10: Teladgori.



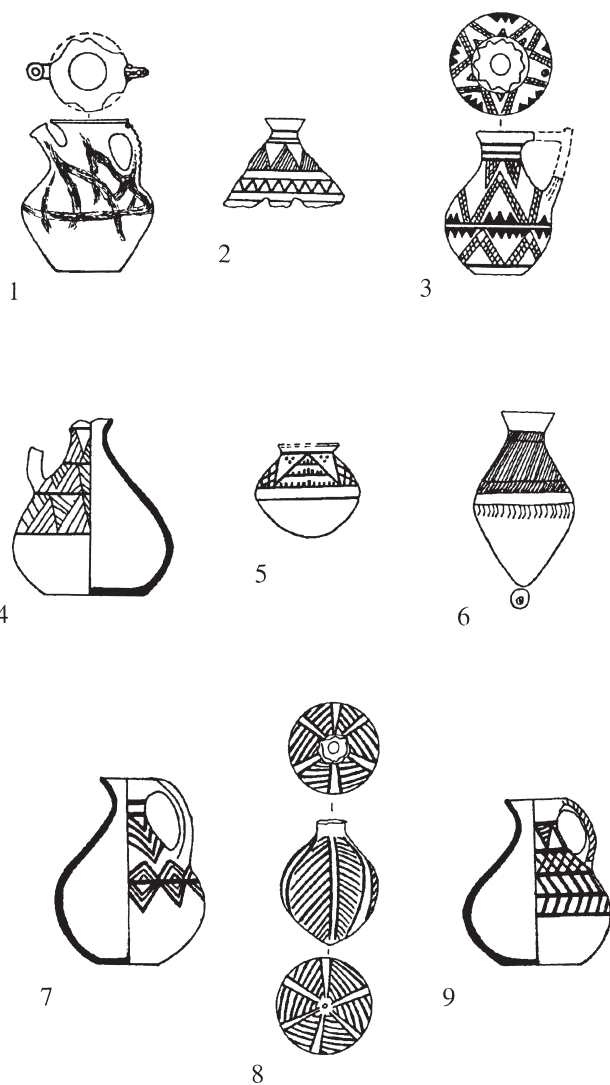


Fig. 6. 1. Asureti; 2: Shavsakdara II; 3: Shavsakdara; 4: Mtskhetijvari; 5: Kamarachevi; 6: Abulmugi; 7, 9: Itkvisi; 8: Grmakhevistavi.

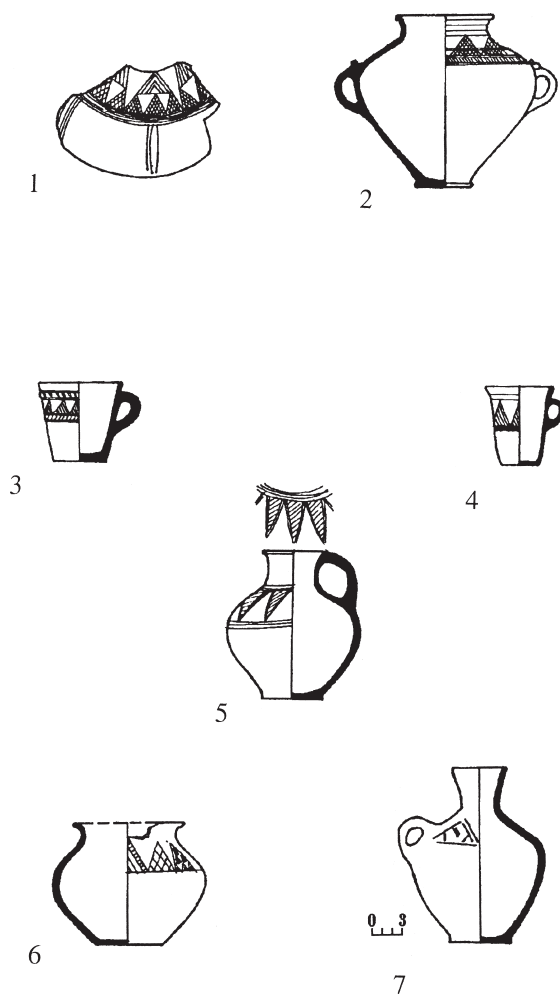


Fig. 7. Examples of Late Bronze Age-Iron Age pottery decorated with incised triangles, from Davlianidze and Sadradze 1993, pls 28; 59; 78; 79.

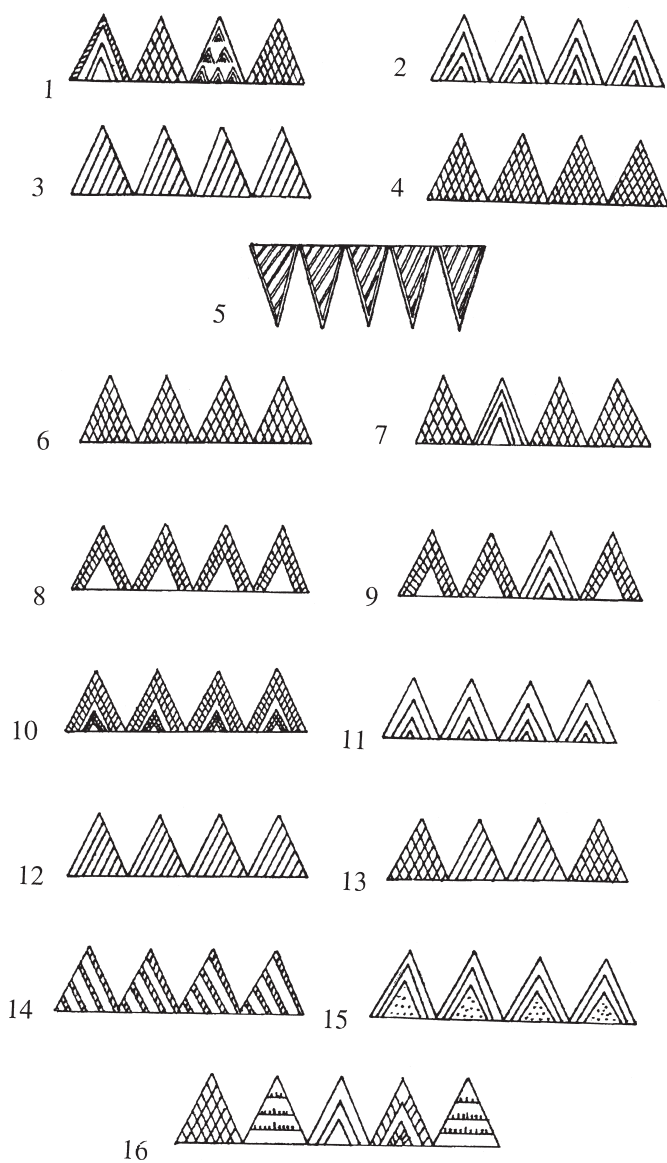


Fig. 8. Examples of painted decoration.

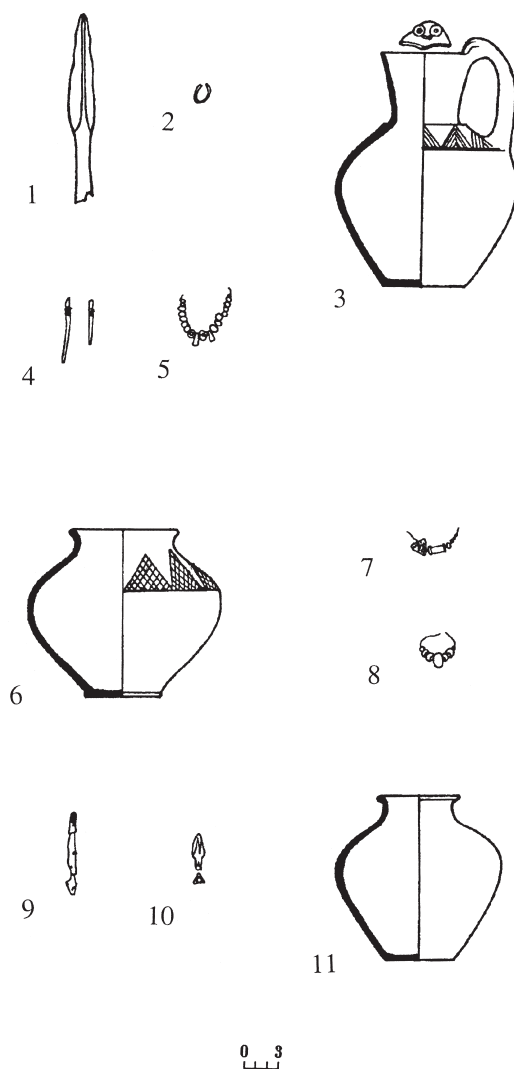


Fig. 9.



Fig. 10. Mçgadijvris gora, from Ramishvili, *et al.* 1997, pl. 149:1;  
2. Natakhari II.

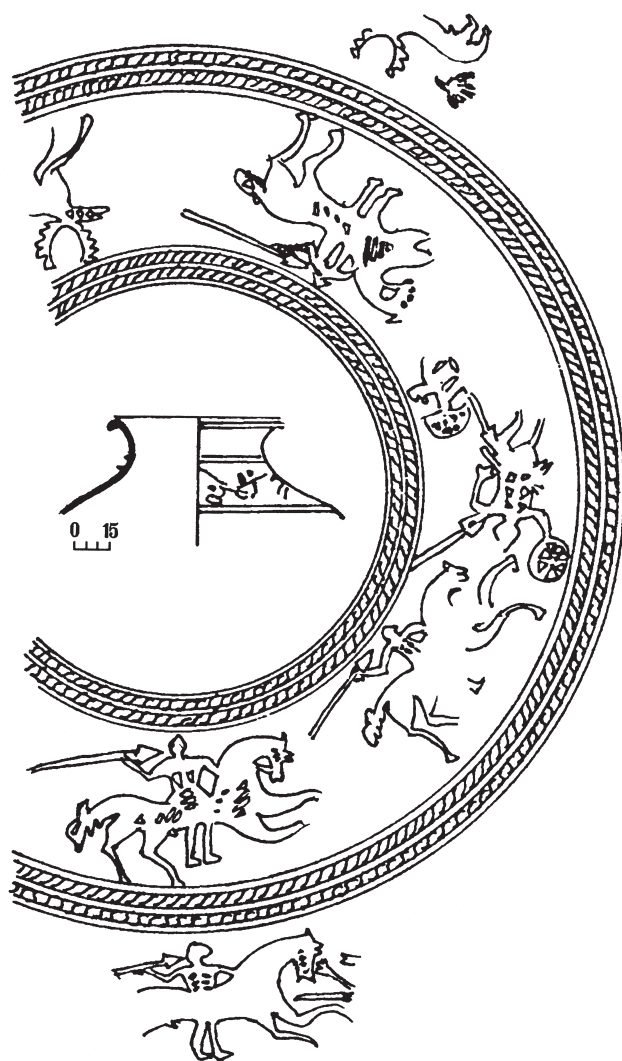
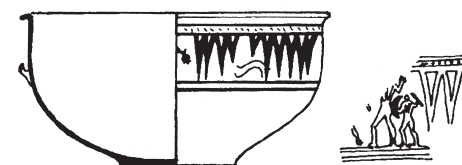
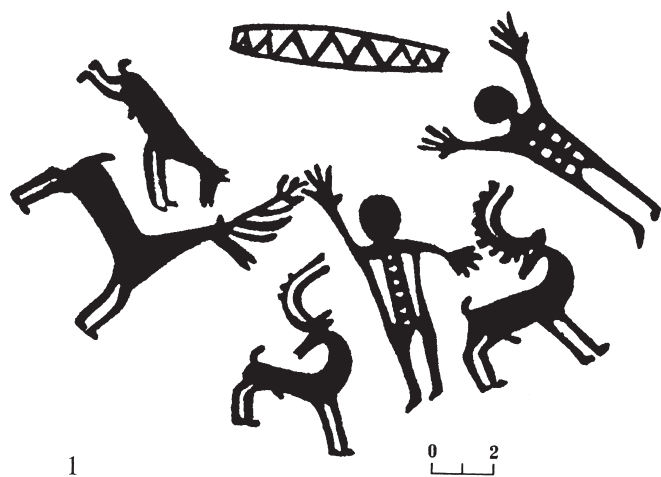


Fig. 11. Samadlo, Lower Hellenistic level, from Gagoshidze 1981, pp. 20–21, pl. 18:234.



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Fig. 12. Natakhtari II; 2. Samadlo, Lower Hellenistic level, from Gagoshidze 1981, p. 19, pl. 15.

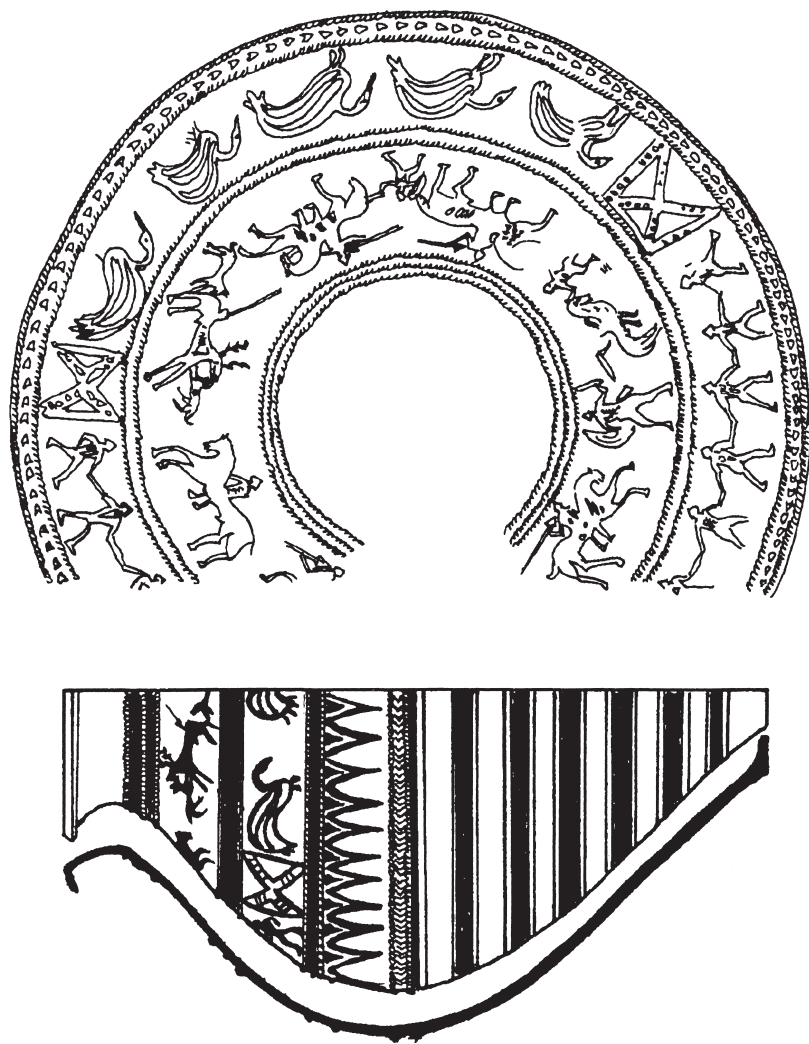


Fig. 13. Samadlo, Lower Hellenistic level, from Gagoshidze 1981, p. 20, pl. 16:233.



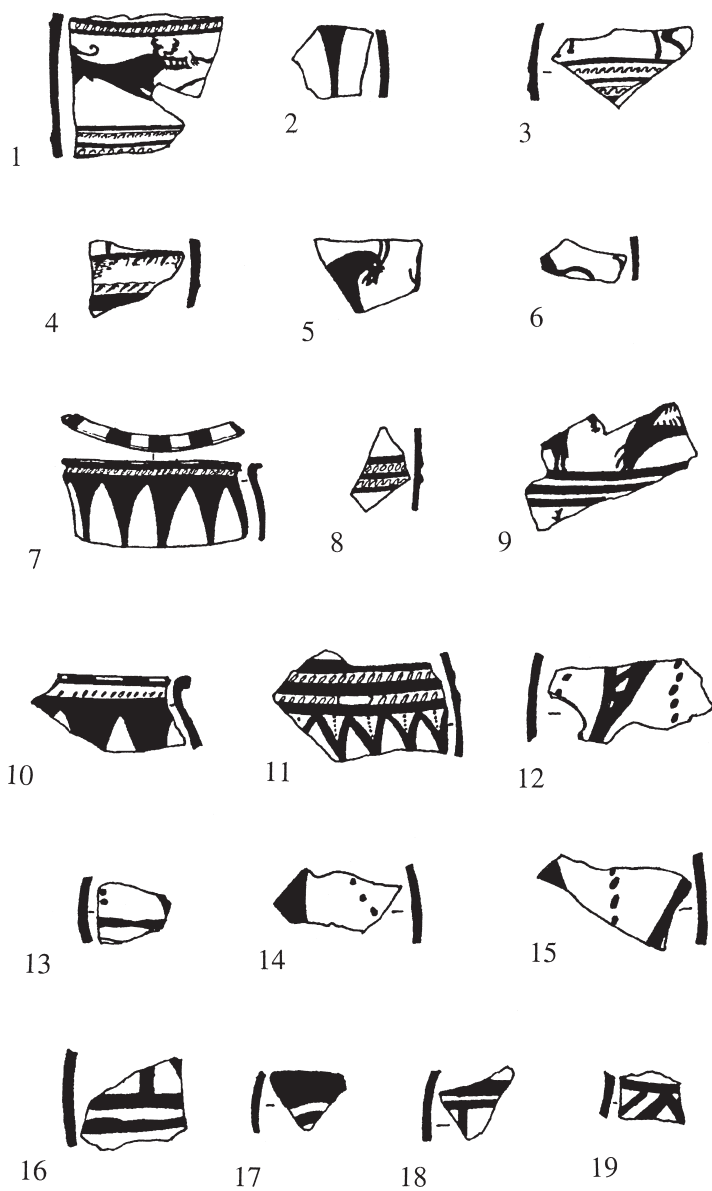


Fig. 14. Samadlo, Lower Hellenistic level, from Gagoshidze 1981, pls 14; 39:583, 574; 48:714–716; 51:757, 759; 52.

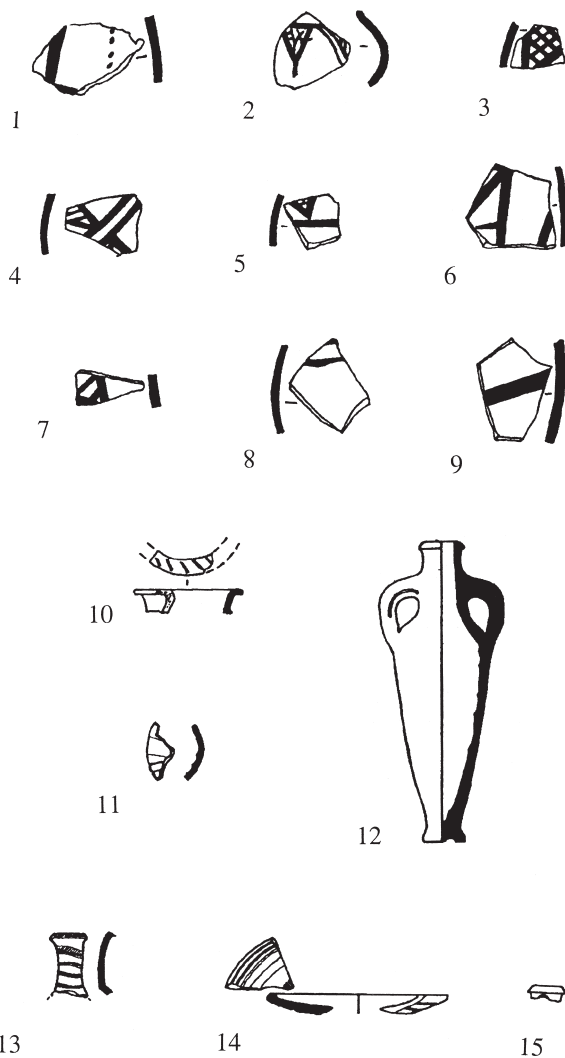


Fig. 15. Pottery from Samadlo, including black-slipped unguentaria (11, 13), an amphora (12), and a black-slipped bowl (13), see Gagoshidze 1981.

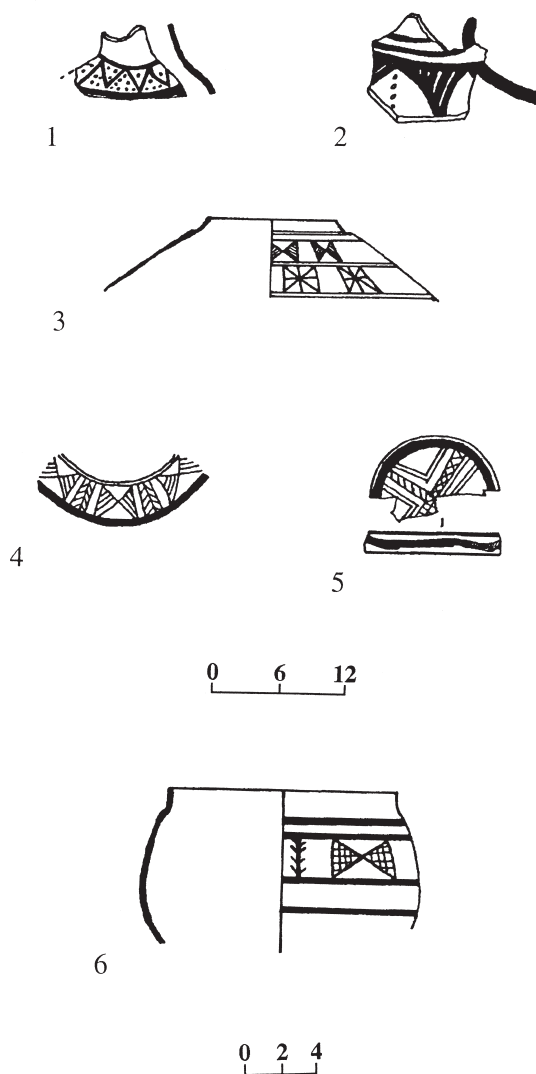


Fig. 16. Pottery from Samadlo.

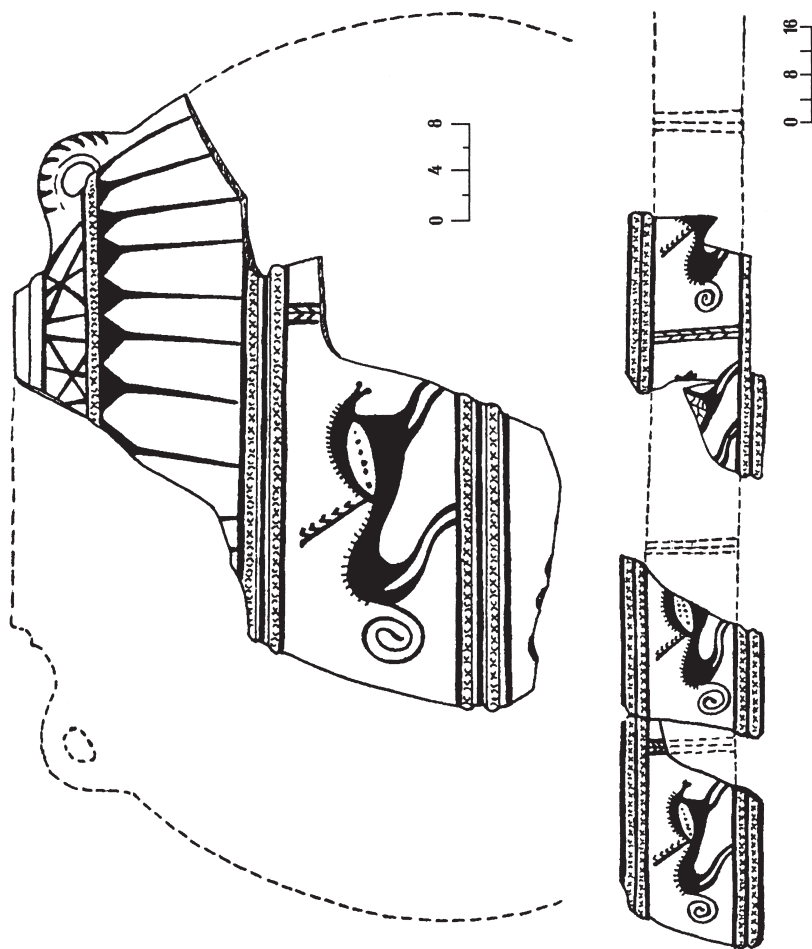


Fig. 17. Tsikhiagora, from Zkitischwili 1995, p. 90, fig. 9:11.

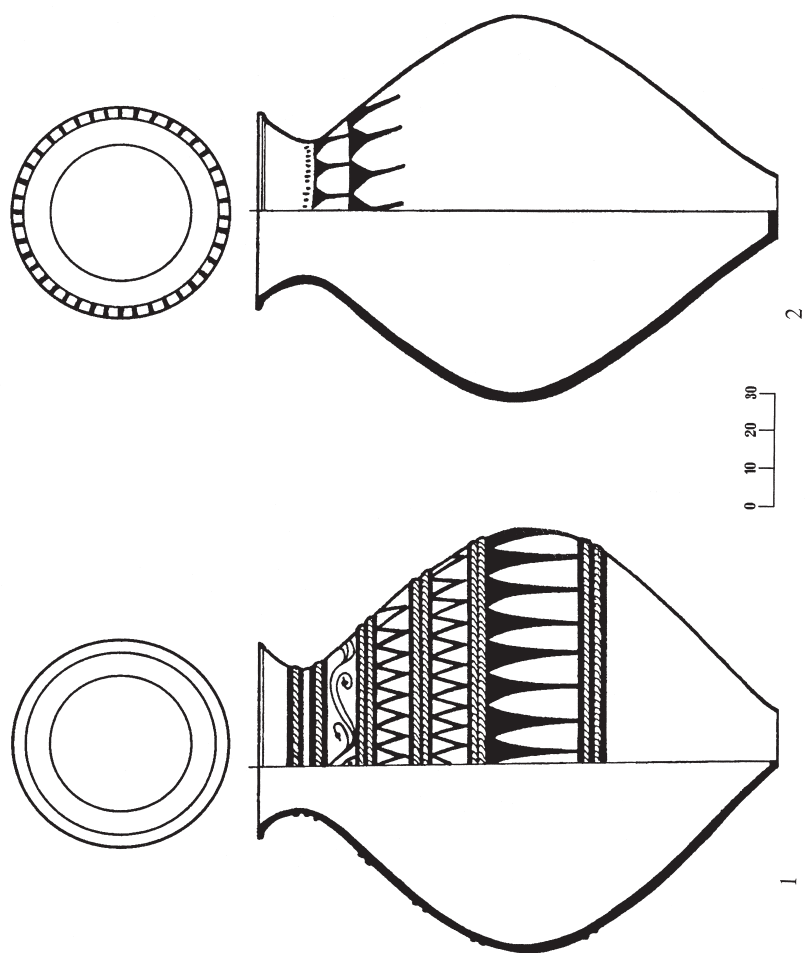


Fig. 18. 1-2. Tsikhiagora, jars

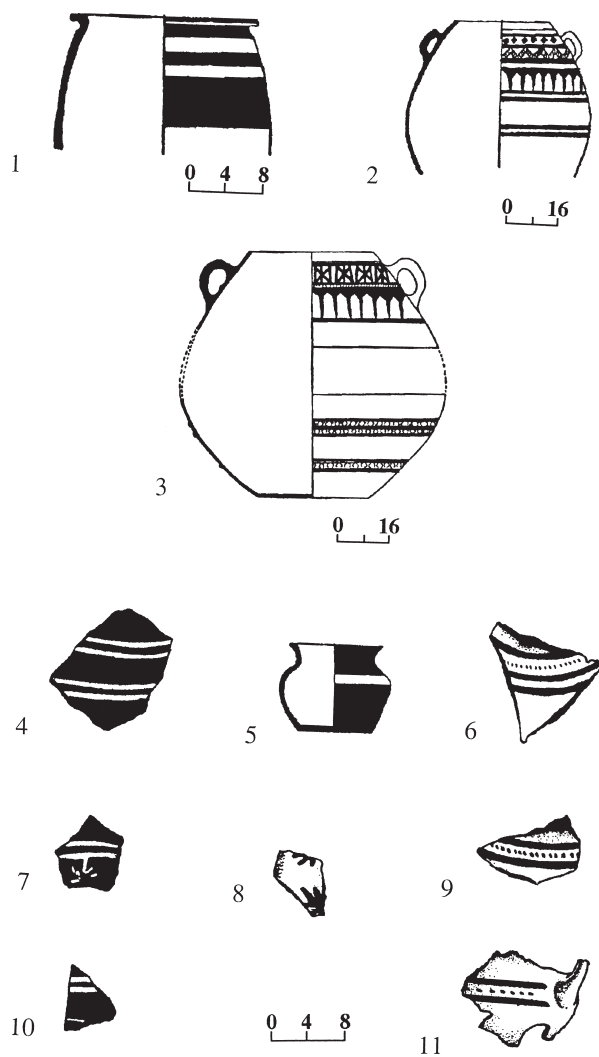


Fig. 19. Pottery from Tsikhiagora (1, 2) and Teladgori (3-11).

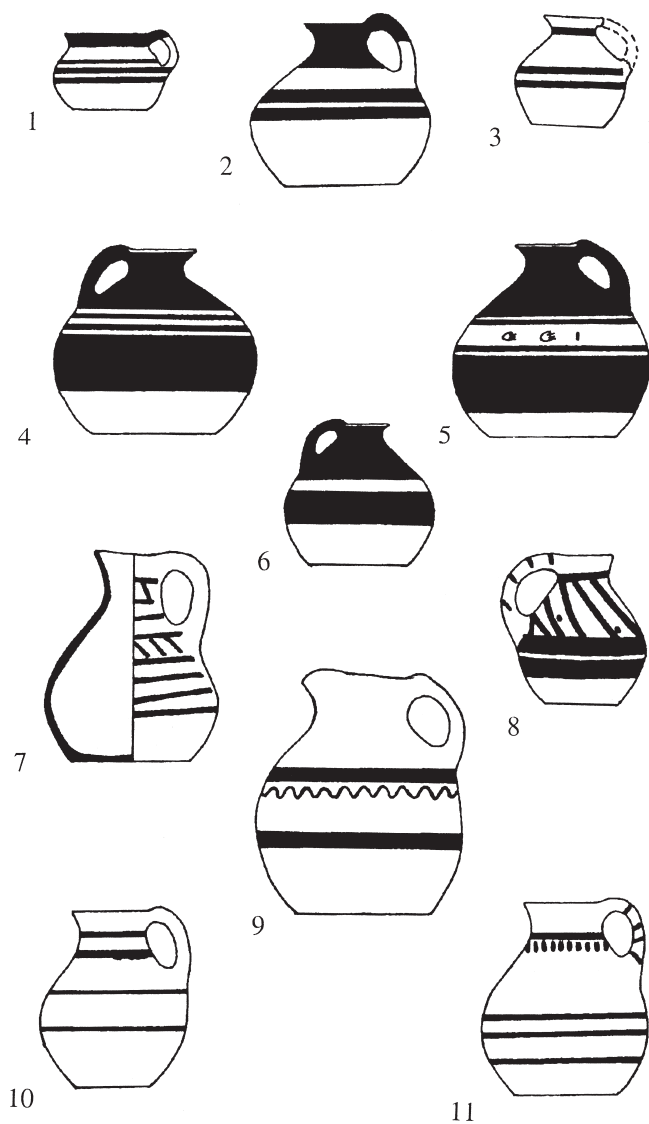


Fig. 20. Handled jugs: 1–3 Etso; 4–6 Kashreti; 7 Dachrilebi; 8: Tetrtskaro;  
9–11 Uplistsikhe (Bambebi).

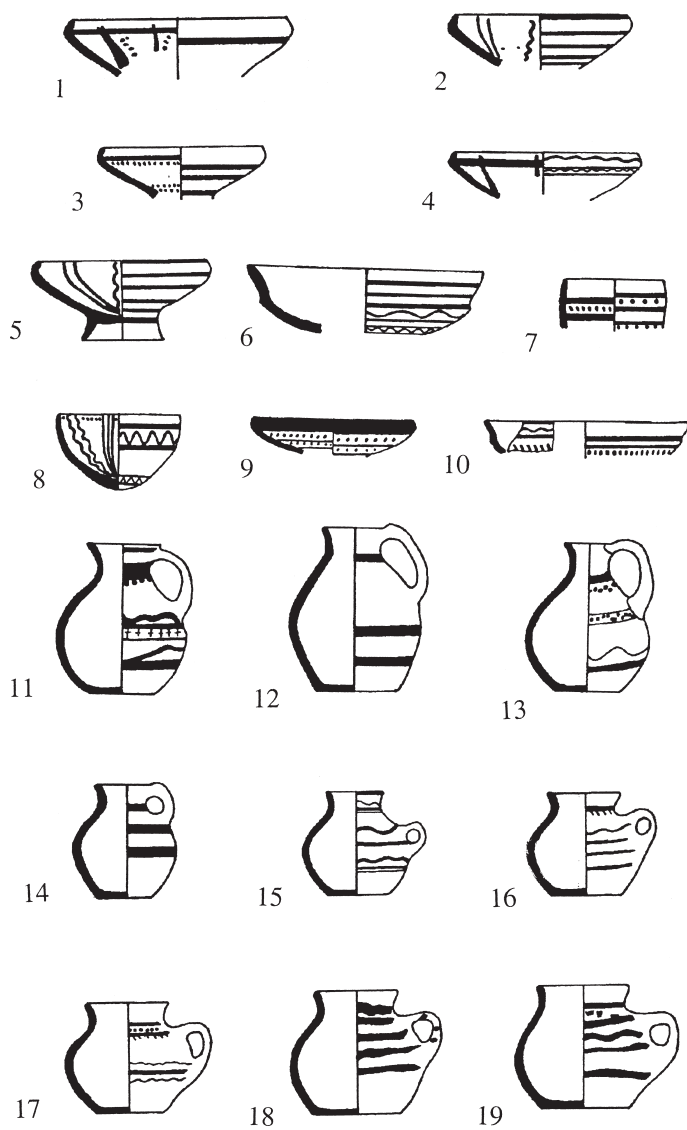


Fig. 21. 1-10 Uplistsikhe (Bambebi); 11, 13 Agaiani; 12 Samtavro; 14-19 Sakaraulo Seri.



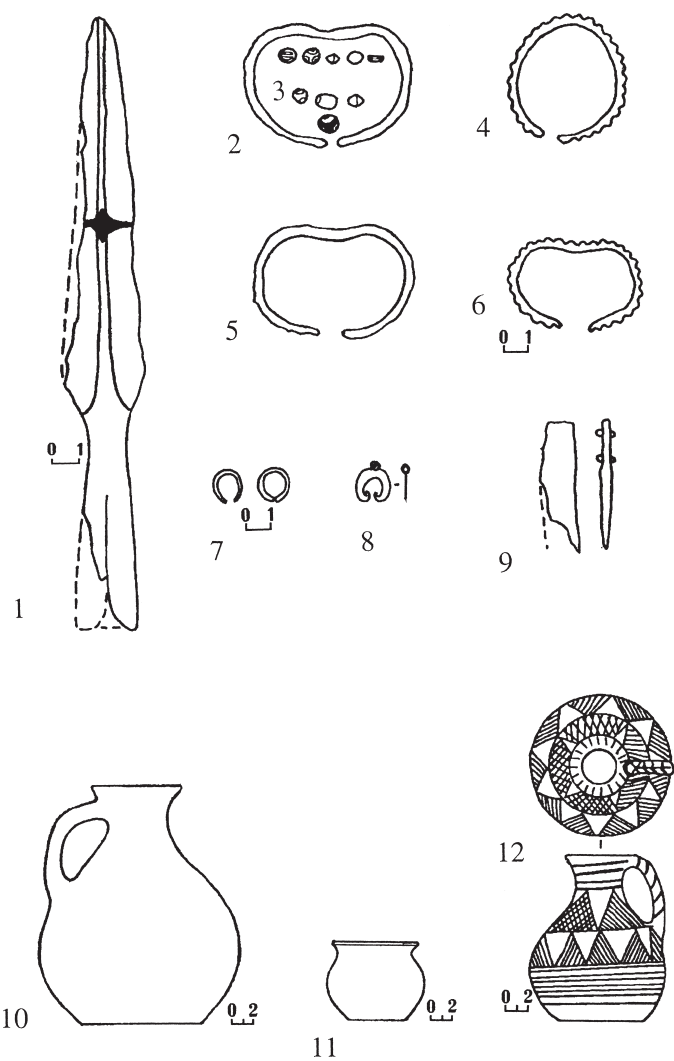


Fig. 22. 1–12. Abulmugi, grave no. 2, from Dzneldze 1989, pp. 42–47, pl. 2;  
Kakhian, *et al.* 1991, p. 54, pl. 133.

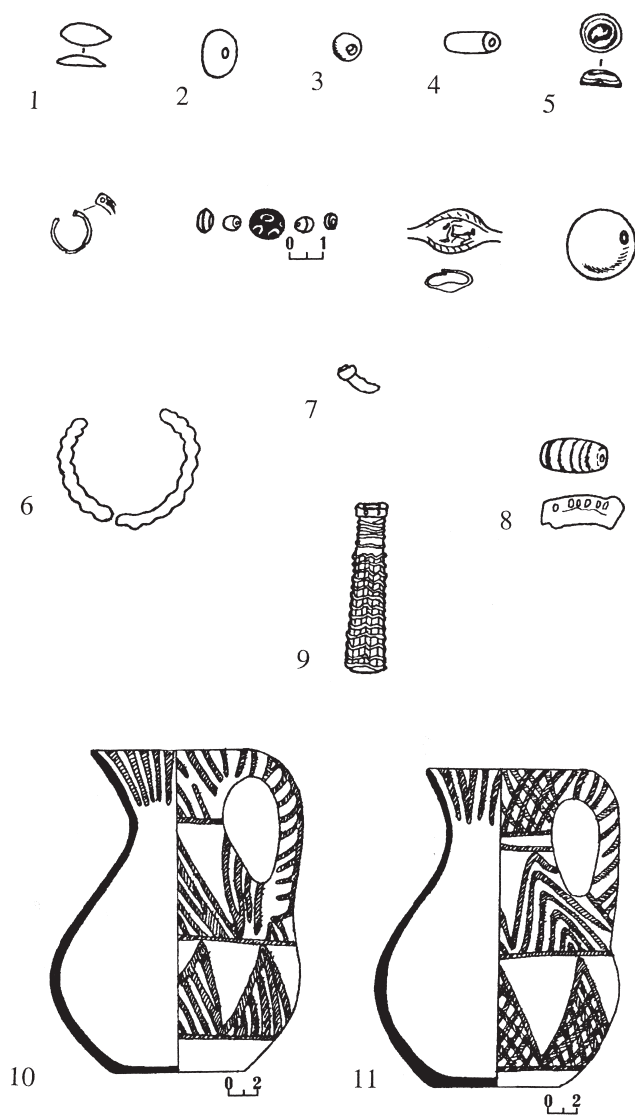


Fig. 23. 1-11. Kushchi, grave no. 3, from Kuftin 1948, pp. 8-10, pl. 1; Gagoshidze 1983, pp. 49-52, pl. 6:3.

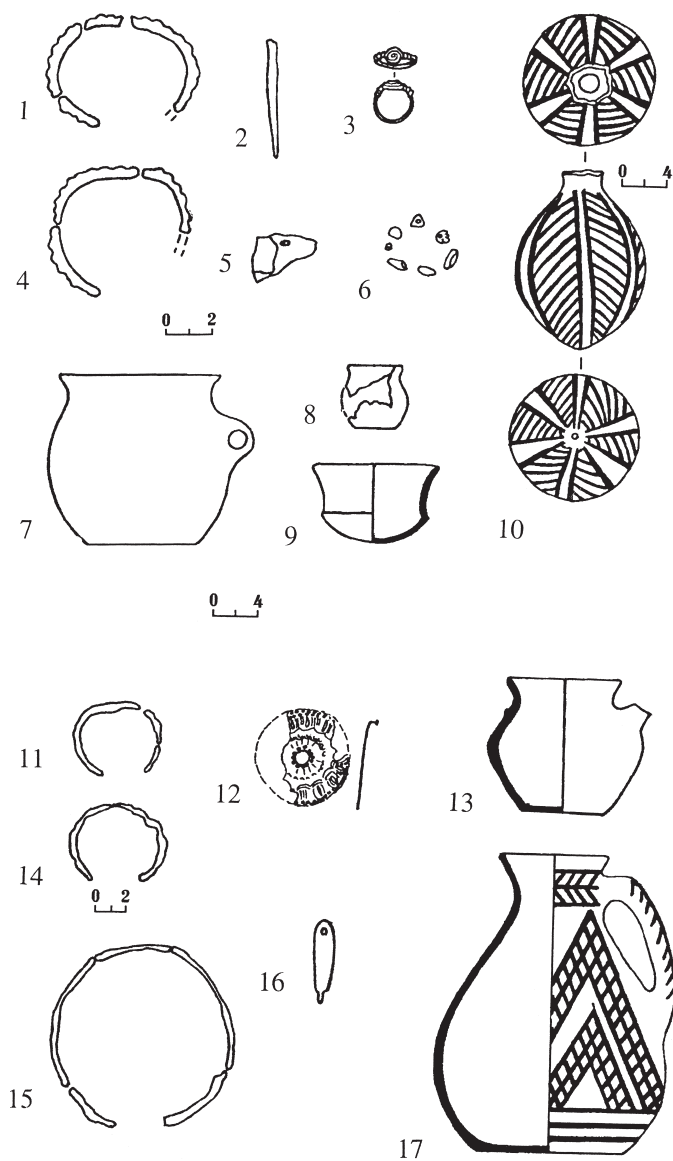


Fig. 24. 1–10. Grmakhevistavi, grave no. 91, from Abramishvili, *et al.* 1980, pp. 162–163, pl. 138; 11–17 Natsargora, grave no. 167, from Naridze 1997, p. 85, pl. 73.

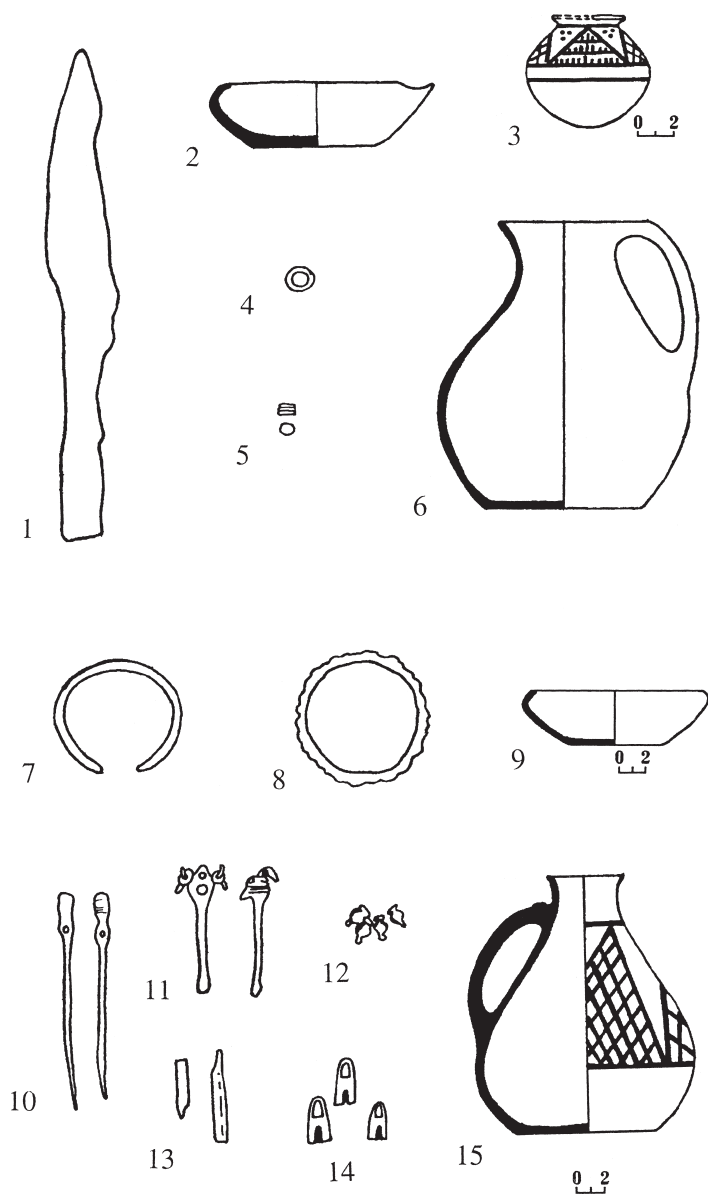


Fig. 25. 1–6. Kamarakhevi, grave no. 47, from Jgarkava 1983, figs 1094–1099; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 563; 7–15. Varsimaantkari, grave no. 175, from Ramishvili, *et al.* 1987, pl. 142.

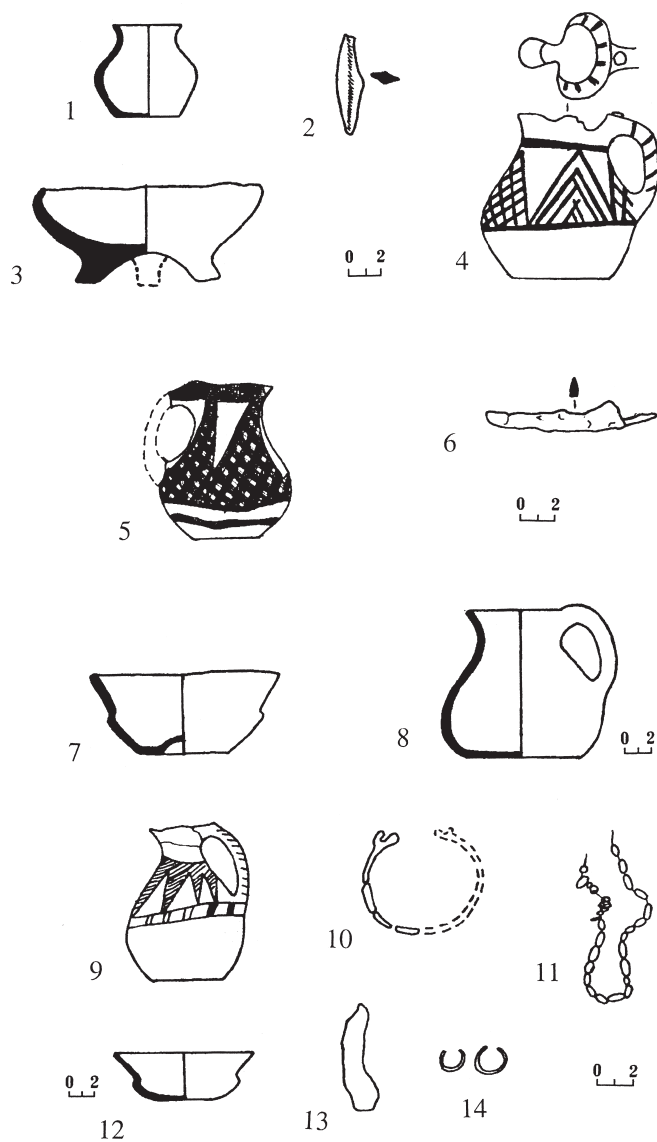


Fig. 26. 1–4. Kamarakhevi, grave no. 32, from Jgarkava 1983, fig. 1047–1050; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 573; 5–6. Kamarakhevi, grave no. 9, from Jgarkava 1983, figs 956–957; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 562; 7–11. Okhera, from Apakidze, *et al.* 1995, p. 83, pl. 178.

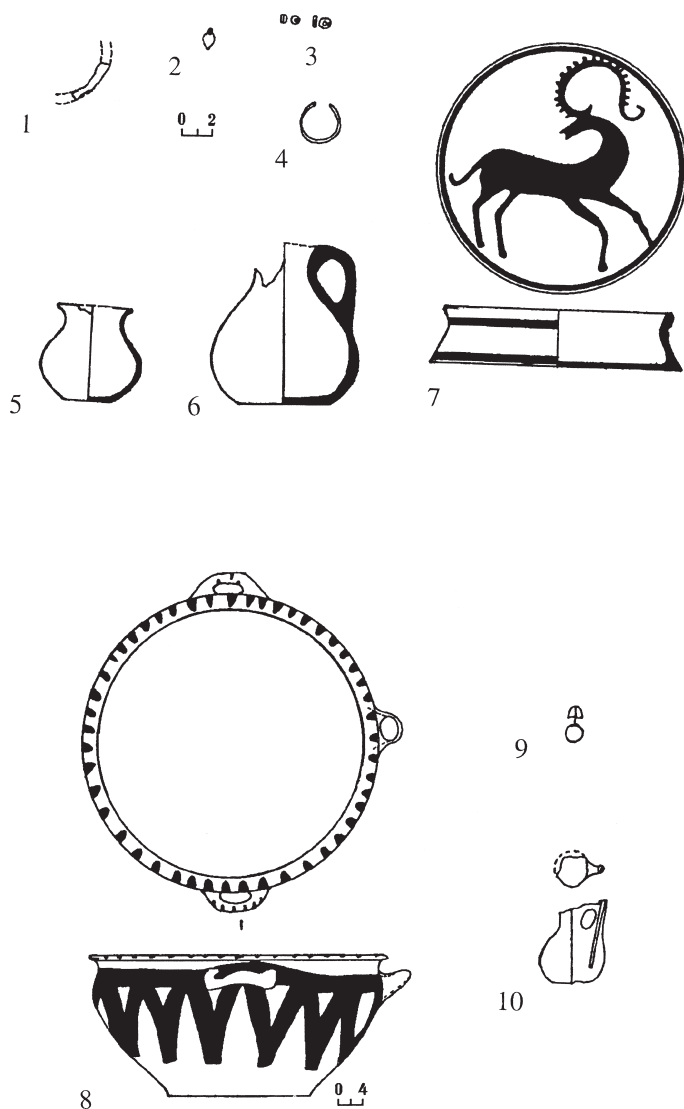


Fig. 27. 1-7. Natakhtari II, from Apakidze, *et al.* 1992, pl. 4; 8-10 Shavsakdara, grave no. 13, from Tushishvili and Margishvili 1995, p. 25, pl. 31; Margishvili 1992, pp. 42-65, pl. 16.

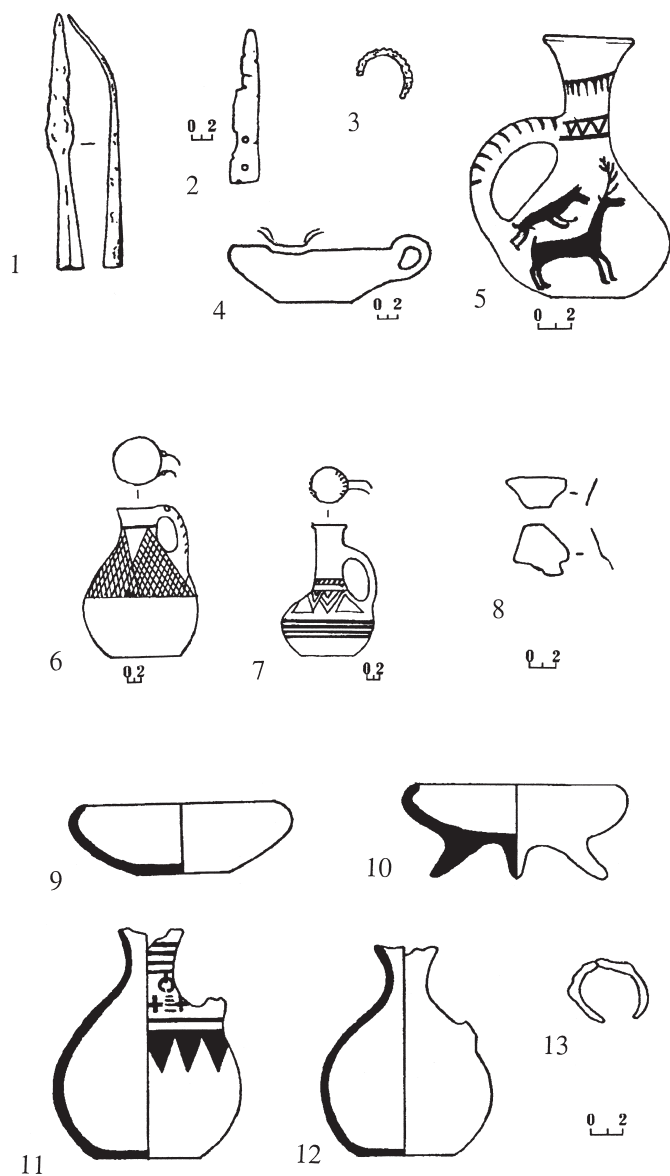


Fig. 28. 1–5. Nataktari II, from Apakidze, *et al.* 1992, pl. 22; Figure 28:6–8. Shavsakdara, grave no. 12, from Tushishvili and Margishvili 1995, p. 26, pl. 30; Margishvili 1992, pp. 43–65, pl. 15; 9–13 Dachrilebi, grave no. 8, from Nakaidze 1980, p. 32, pl. 30; Tolordava 1983, p. 45, pl. 36; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 574.

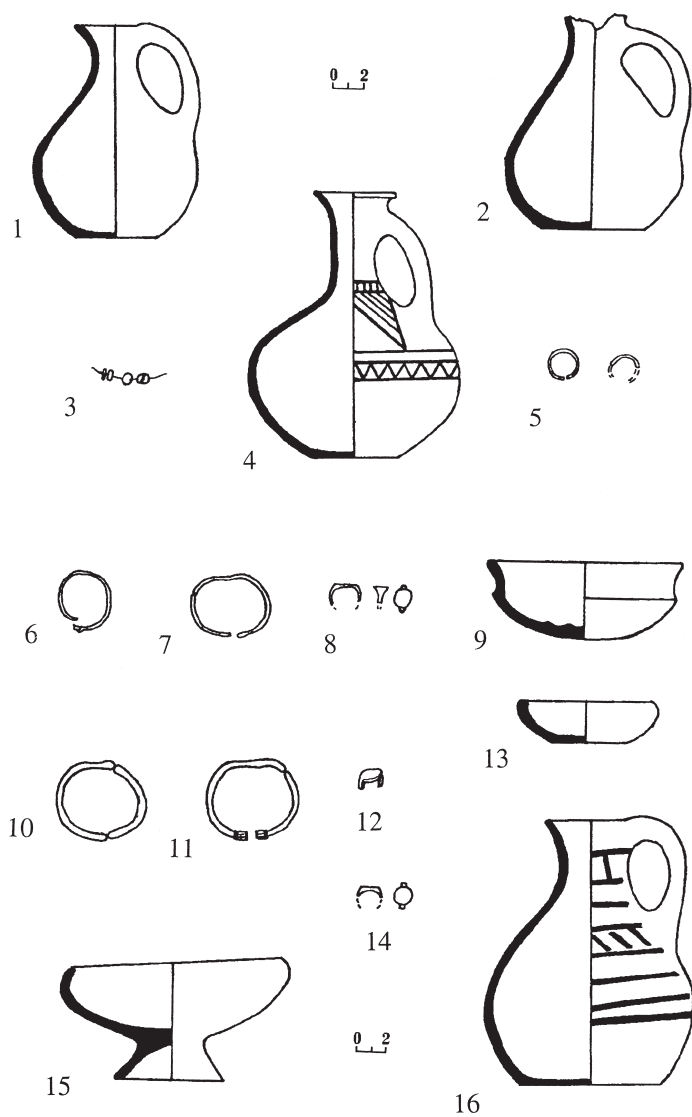


Fig. 29. 1–5. Dachrilebi, grave no. 10, from Nakaidze 1980, p. 33, pl. 31; Tolordava 1983, p. 45, pl. 37:1–5; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 576; 6–16 Dachrilebi, grave no. 11, from Nakaidze 1980, p. 33, pl. 32; Tolordava 1983, p. 45, pl. 36:1–11; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 577.



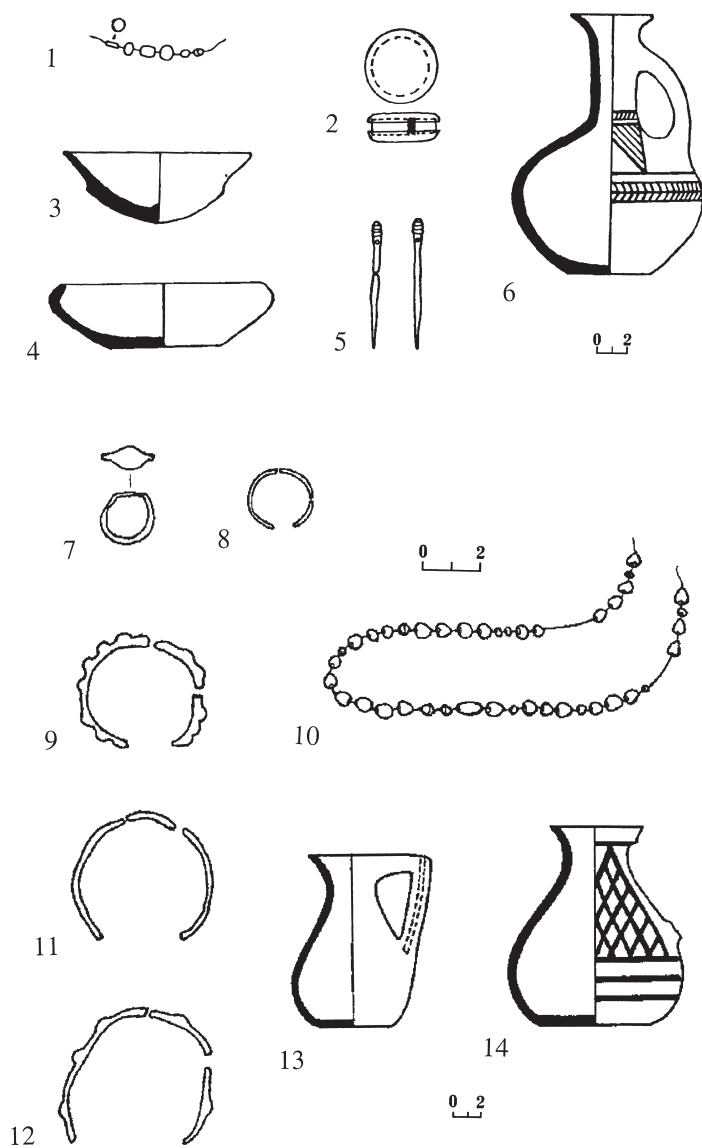


Fig. 30. 1-6. Dachrilebi, grave no. 18, from Nakaidze 1980, p. 36, pl. 36; Tolordava 1983, pp. 45-46, pl. 35:13-18; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 575; 7-14 Etso, grave no. 74, from Shatberashvili 1999, p. 60, pl. 1:74-81, 8.

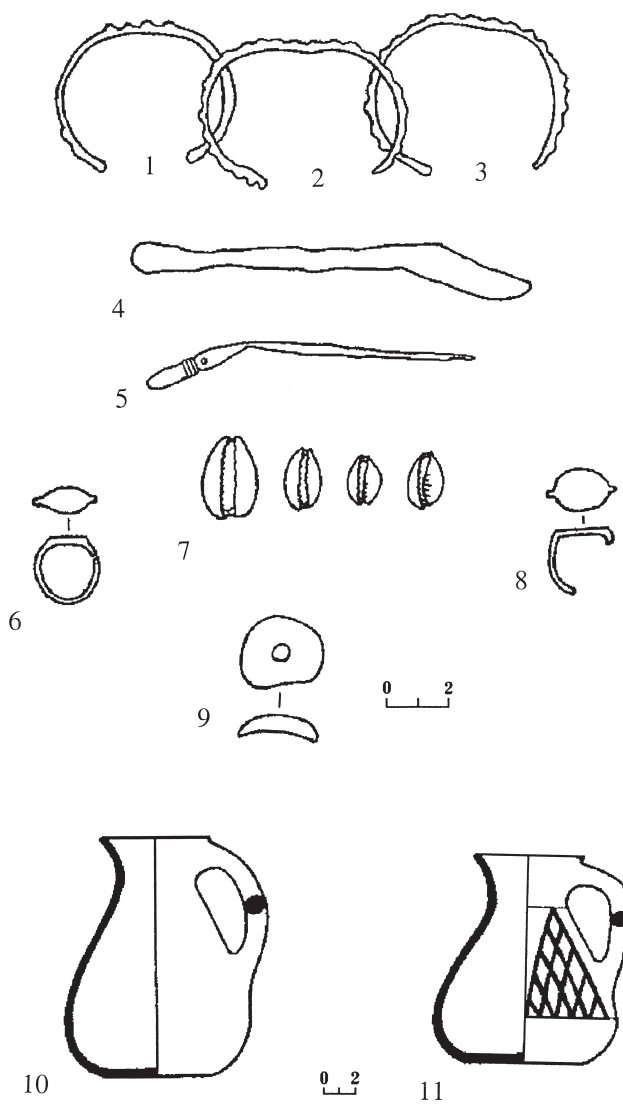


Fig. 31. 1–11. Etso, grave no. 87, from Shatberashvili 1999, p. 60, pl. 1:87–91, 15.

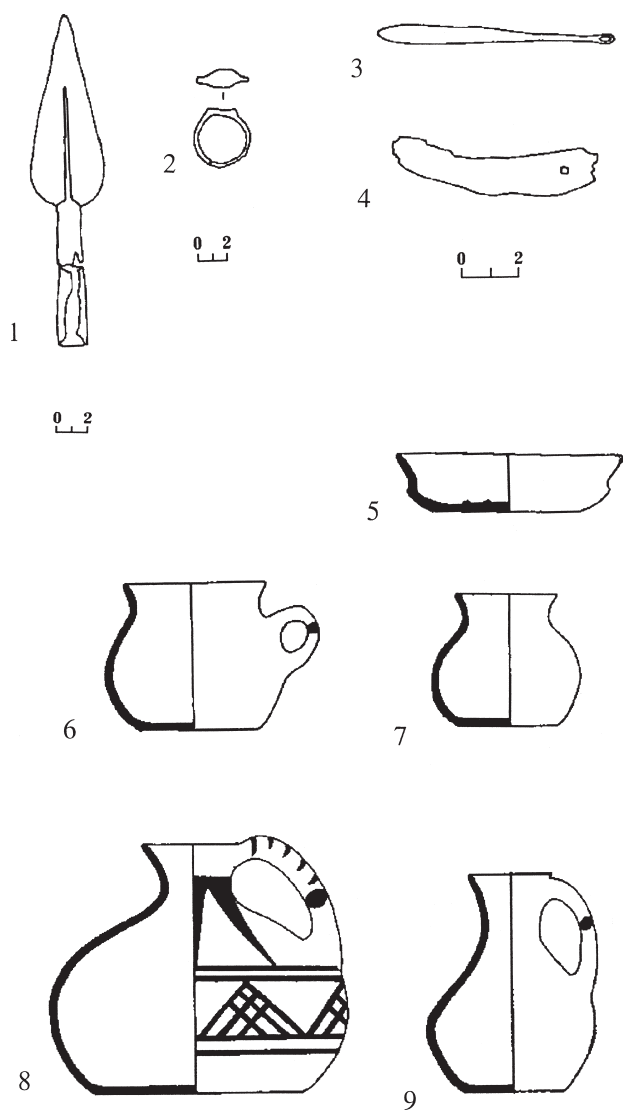


Fig. 32. 1–9. Etso, grave no. 80, from Shatberashvili 1999, p. 61, pl. 2:80–91, 8.

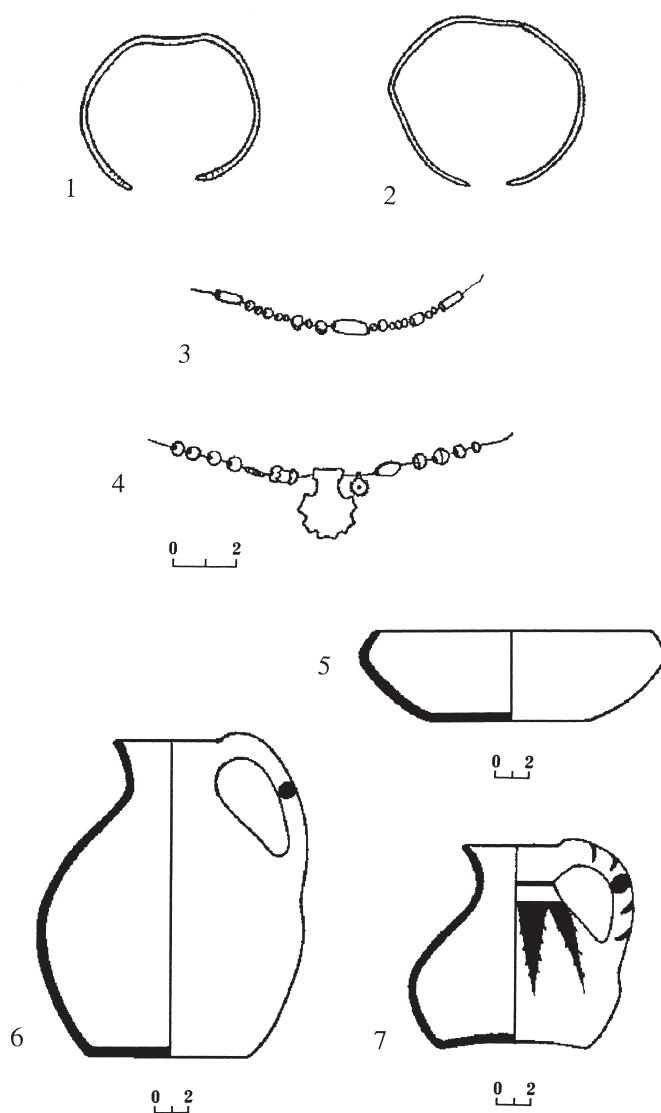


Fig. 33. 1-7. Etso, grave no. 88, from Shatberashvili 1999, p. 19.

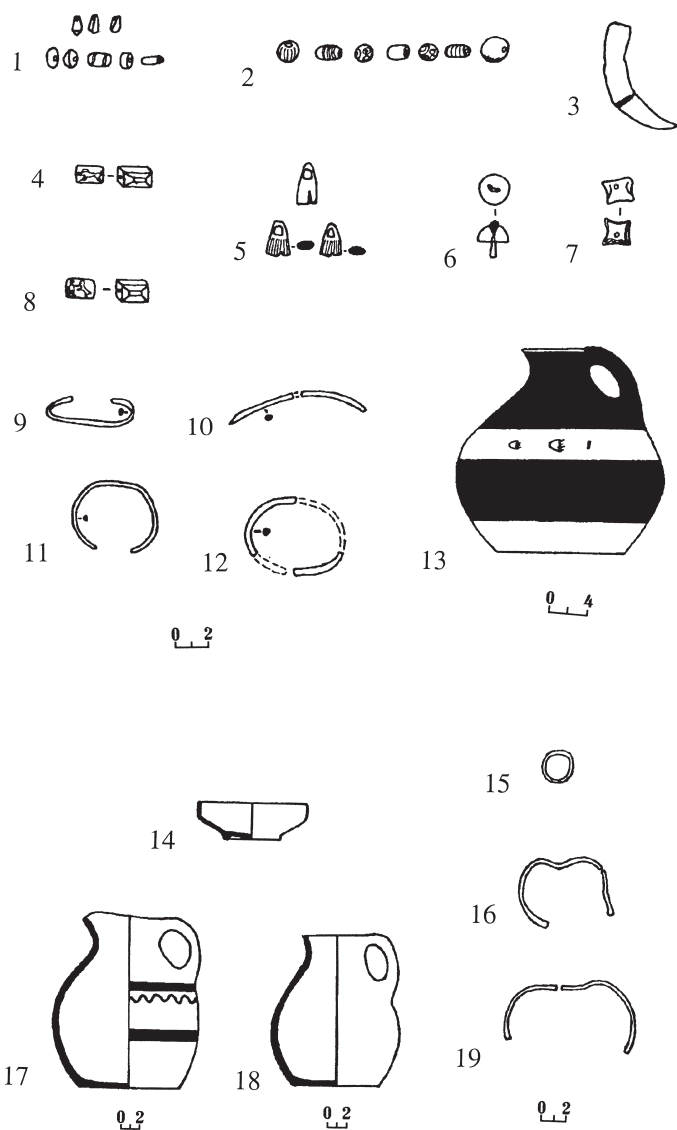


Fig. 34. 1–13. Kasreti, grave no. 14, from Sinauridze 1985, pp. 35–38, pl. 18; Narimanishvili 1991, fig. 411; 15–19. Uplistikhe, grave no. 7, from Khakhutaishvili 1964, p. 81; Khakhutaishvili 1970, pls 22–23.

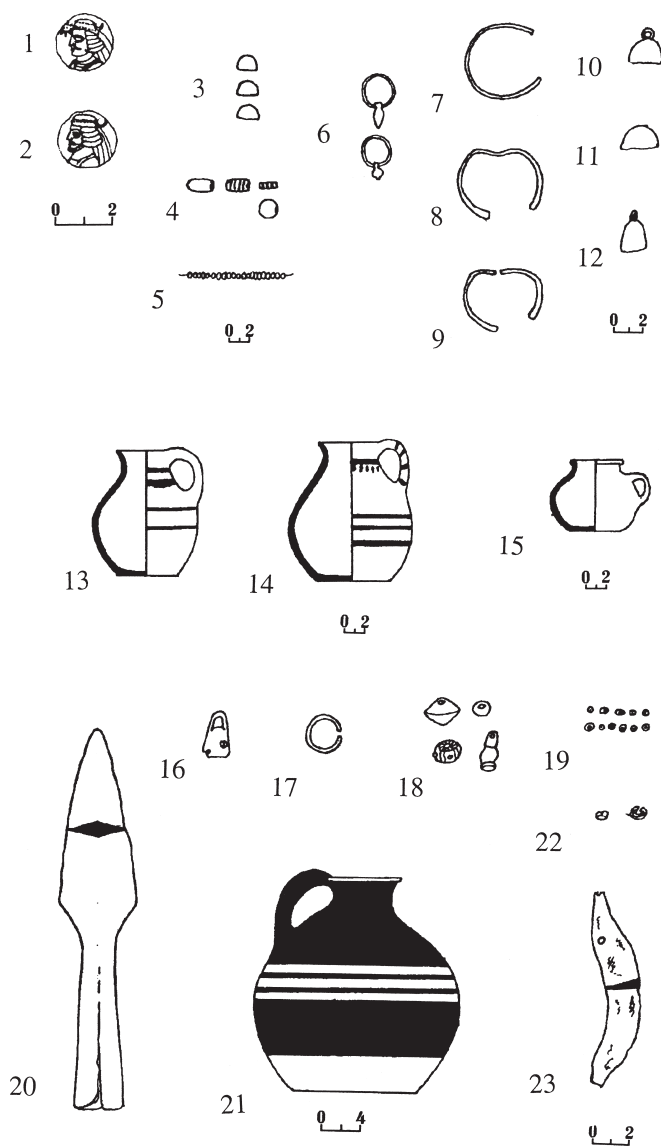


Fig. 35. 1-15. Uplistikhe, grave no. 8, Khakhutaishvili 1964, p. 80, pls 28-49, 54:13-14; Khakhutaishvili 1970, pls 22-23; 16-23 Kasreti, grave no. 5, from Sinauridze 1985, pp. 33-35, pl. 20.

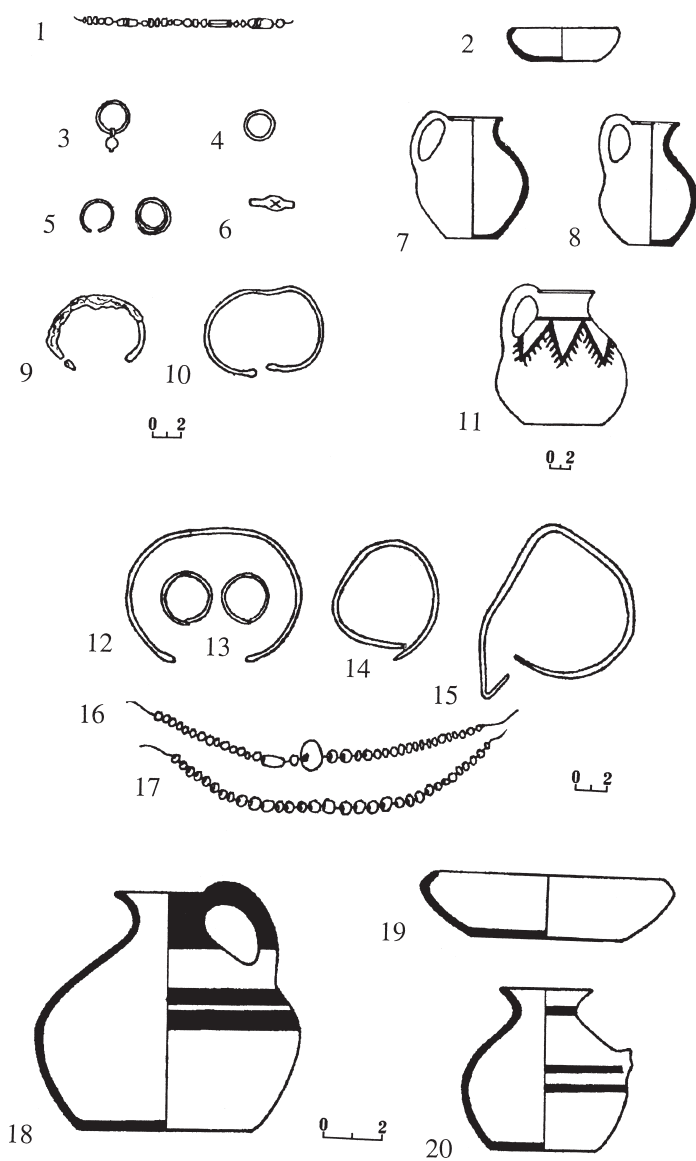


Fig. 36. 1–11. Uplistikhe, grave no. 1, Khakhutaishvili 1964, pp. 75–76, pl. 44; 12–20 Etso, grave no. 88, from Shatberashvili 1999, p. 61, pl. 2:88–91, 100.

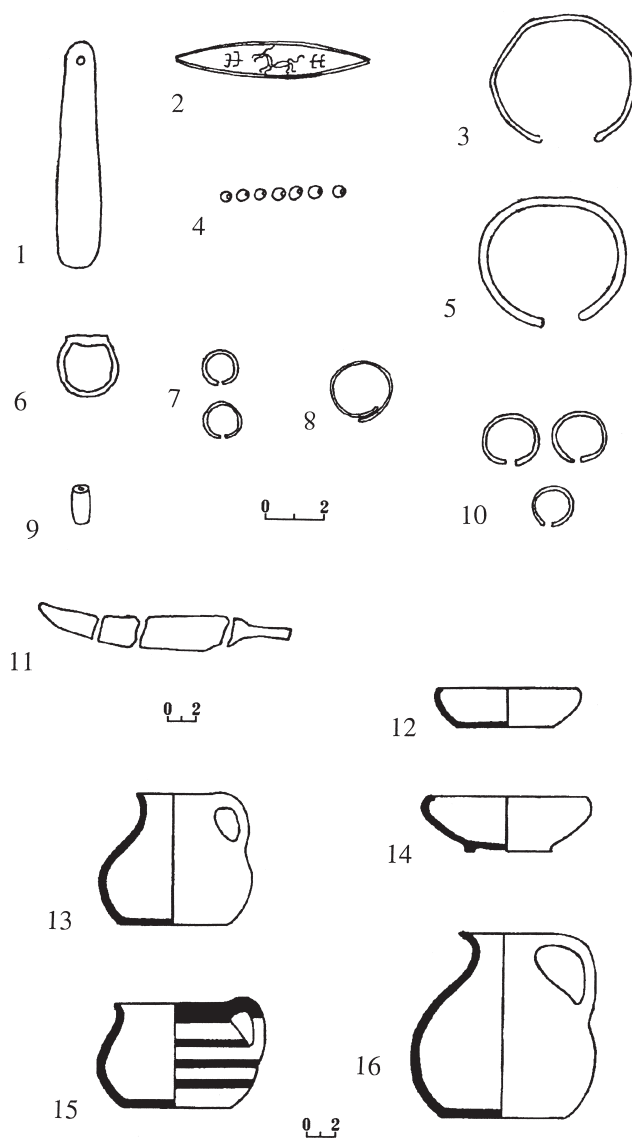


Fig. 37. 1-11. Etso, grave no. 16, from Shatberashvili 1999, p. 61, pl. 3:12, 16-21.



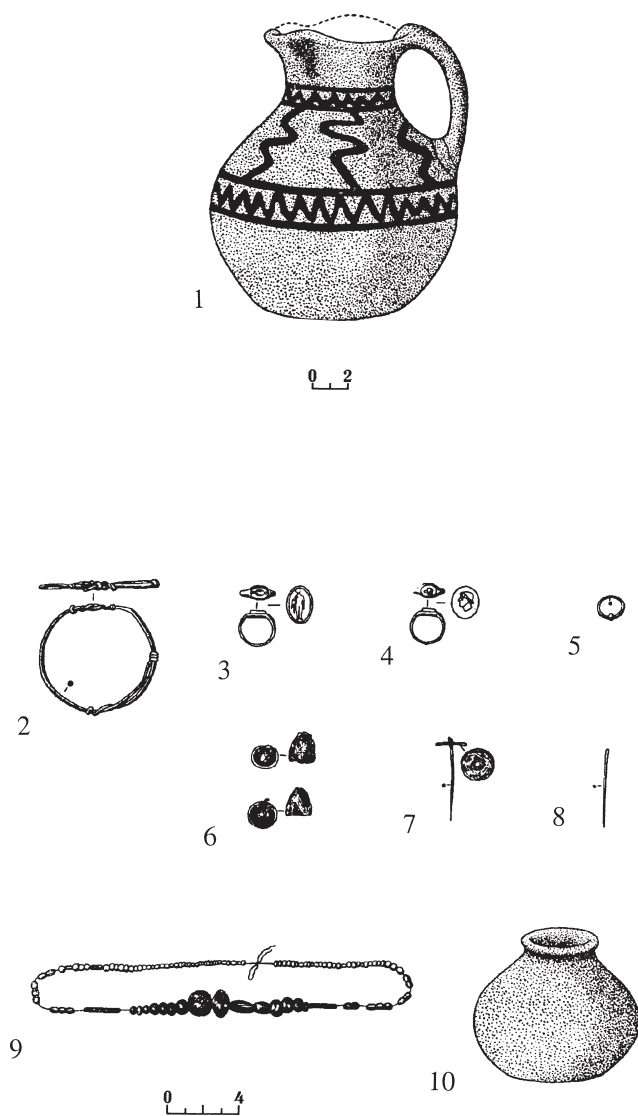


Fig. 38. 1–10. Stifas, grave no. 74, from Tekhov 1980, p. 95–109, pl. 50.

# Achaemenian Heritage in Ancient Georgian Architecture

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## Abstract

*This paper examines the influence of the Achaemenid period in Georgia through architectural remains. Key sites such as Dedoplist Mindori are examined and specific architectural attributes are compared to other well known sites in the Near East.*

Plans, architectural motifs and other forms that come to light as the result of archaeological research in Caucasus in the second half of the first century B.C. contain two intense streams of influences — Oriental and Greek. The scholar's interest is drawn naturally to Achaemenian Iran because, at this time, it was in Iran where all kinds of architectural traditions were accumulating. Achaemenian architecture in itself is a phenomenon without gradual, evolutionary forms of development. As a complete architectural system, it appeared as quickly as the empire itself and disappeared together with it. Achaemenian architecture deteriorated in Iran herself, but the forms, created and re-created there carried on the tradition across broad expanses. Likewise, some of the motifs have no clear geographic or chronological limit.

In order to understand better the essence of pre-Christian Georgian architecture, J. Gagoshidze excavated an unparalleled site. 'Dedoplist Mindori' ('the Queen's Fields') is located in east Georgia, in the Careli district and is dated to the turn of the first centuries B. C. — A. D. (Figs 1–2).<sup>1</sup> The size of the site (335 x 195 m), on the one hand, and the fact that almost all of its plans are characteristic of the Orient, on the other, is of particular interest.

Dedoplist Mindori structures are built of mud bricks over low cobble stone socles. One is oriented from south to north. It has a quadrangular, open yard

<sup>1</sup> Gagoshidze 1976–1977, pp. 62–67; 1997, pp. 102–107; 1981, pp. 102–105.

(140 x 140 m) with gates on each side. The main, eastern gate (if not both gates) could have a cultic function — the so-called ‘shrine-gate’ — and its construction deserves attention because it shares characteristic features with the Achaemenian and post-Achaemenian world. Other aspects of the gate, as well as a shrine, are equally important.

A comparison can be made with Persepolis (Fig. 3b) and some late Susa temples (Fig. 3a). At first glance, some elements of these buildings could be described as models for the shrine-gate at Dedoplist Mindori. It seems likely that the doorway of the gate and the shrine space were combined. Also, the northernmost sections of the complex were joined with uniform spaces, each consisting of an open yard and a building (Fig. 5). Their plan is simple, a so-called ‘quadrate joining another quadrate,’ the earliest example of which is the temple of Tchoga Zanbil (c. twelfth century B. C.; Fig. 6a).<sup>2</sup> The same type of building plans, laid in succession, were unearthed at Persepolis and Susa<sup>3</sup> and perhaps Achaemenid Iran adopted this design from Urartian culture (Fig. 6c).<sup>4</sup> In the composition (not based on the schemes) of our patterns, one might see a rather archaic model of interconnection between building and open space, like the Tchoga Zanbil sectional temples (Fig. 7a).<sup>5</sup>

At present, we do not have certain and immediate evidence to be able to attribute categorically a function to the Dedoplist Mindori northern section, though I personally still lean toward the possibility that we have a series of cult structures there. The same plan of ‘quadrate joining another quadrate’ characterises the northern gate of the open yard (Fig. 7b).

Some may consider the *Bit-Hilani* plan as the farthest antecedent of structures with opposing gates (Figs 7b, 8a), though it is extremely difficult to explain how the Achaemenid or post-Achaemenid world could have carried this type of building to Georgia (Iberia). Achaemenid architects did not use this plan themselves, even though most of the Orient, before and after the Achaemenid period, used this scheme of dividing width-wise the inner space. The design just mentioned, functioned equally well as a shrine, or as a gate (Fig. 8b–g).<sup>6</sup>

Separate schemes, characteristic of Achaemenian architecture are apparent in the Dedoplist Mindori complex. Ideologically, in scale and in the interpretation of the system, it is exactly like the Achaemenian complexes. Yet it is extremely difficult to find an exact or an approximate analogue for the entire

<sup>2</sup> Chirshman 1966, vol. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vanden Berghe 1959.

<sup>4</sup> Khalpakchian 1983, fig. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Chirshman 1966, vol. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ghirshman 1968.

Dedoplis Mindori ensemble. It is also difficult to detect the cultural path through which it passed following the deterioration of the Achaemenian architectural style until the first century B. C. It cannot be ruled out that Georgia herself was the median region where post-Achaemenian architecture was preserved and was transformed. Georgia might be considered a successor of the Achaemenian tradition.<sup>7</sup> The Tsikhia-Gora complex excavated by G. Tskitishvili, dated to the third century B.C., might point to something stronger than mere spontaneous adoption of Achaemenian motifs in Georgia, although it is too early to speak of an unbroken continuity.<sup>8</sup>

Tsikhia-Gora is a fortified knoll (*biyyük* or *tepe*). Public buildings, as well as some domestic and cult-purpose structures, have been found there. I shall focus on the granary, a shrine-gate and a small temple (Fig. 9). The granary was built of adobe, without a socle of stones beneath it, and was the simplest building consisting of a central nucleus with narrow store rooms on both sides. This kind of plan served this function without noticeable change for a long period of time. Compare the Achaemenid buildings at Dahan-I Ghulaman<sup>9</sup> and the later examples at Dilberjin.<sup>10</sup>

As to the shrine-gate, it follows quite a different architectural theme. Its main entrance to the inner nucleus is through the fortification wall and comprises the area between the north and south walls. A central, rectangular hall dominates the area and, together with its side chambers (the result of simplification of corridors around them), may be considered as a successor of an Iranian central structure. Noteworthy is the similarity between the Tsikhia-Gora shrine-gate and the modern fire temple at Fars (Fig. 9a).<sup>11</sup> The scheme of the minor temple, as already mentioned in regard to the Dedoplis Mindori complex, is the earliest form of 'fracturing' the space. We have to mention here that the Tsikhia-Gora plan of a 'quadrate joining another quadrate' antedates the Dedoplis Mindori example by at least two centuries.

The ancient Fire Temple of Uplistsike (c. fourth to third centuries B. C.), a rock-hewn town, comprised four support-bearing, rock posts, with a rock wall on one side similar to other early fire temples. In later years, a *pastophorii* was added on its side and it functioned as a church with a new west-east longitudinal axis (Fig. 10b).<sup>12</sup>

Clearly, Achaemenian (generally Hellenistic) buildings in Georgia were fashioned after an Oriental ground plan that is based on the principle of volume

<sup>7</sup> Kipiani 2000, pp. 45–46.

<sup>8</sup> Tskitishvili 1976, p. 60; Tskitishvili 1977, pp. 51–55.

<sup>9</sup> Scerrato 1966, vol. 16, nos 1–2, fig. 2, building on plans no. 5.5.12, among others.

<sup>10</sup> Kruglikova 1986, fig. 1, buildings VII, VIII, among others.

<sup>11</sup> Gropp 1969, p. 156.

<sup>12</sup> Kipiani 1990.

(volumetric) composition. Beside the central nuclei of the buildings just discussed, archaeological finds include timber support beams and intersecting girders. It is possible that there existed a false-domed opening supported by posts or even walls, which suggests that a fire once burnt in the centre.<sup>13</sup>

Similar architecture has been found at Vani, excavated by O. Lordkipanidze, who uncovered a shrine gate, a rectangular nucleus approaching quadrate in shape with a pair of posts that once may have supported a false dome. In all, it was a structurally complete system.

In conclusion, all of these buildings unearthed in Georgia were roofed with tiles partly or entirely, although we do not know the shape of the upper part of the basilica at the rock-hewn site of Uplistsikhe. Oriental centre structures combined the peak of a gable and a quadratic plan along the length of the upper parts (Figs 12-14). Thus Georgia is the only region in the east where Oriental centre structures are combined with gambrel roofs. This is the end result of an intensive amalgamation of various traditions in Georgia. Hence, post-Achaemenid buildings in Georgia supposedly had the shape of a basilica or domed basilica. This complicated fusion originated in Hellenistic times and became the basis of Georgian architecture in subsequent years.

The same assimilation and amalgamation can be traced in other architectural details. Some appear spontaneous and others harmonious. Although Achaemenian styles and artistic forms had already disappeared in Hellenistic Georgia (e.g. the double-protomed capital of Tsikhia-Gora Figs 15-16), they were preserved in Achaemenian artistic canons<sup>14</sup> (e.g. the Sarkine, bell-shaped bases on which Greek guilloches appear between down-turned lotus leaves Figs 18-19). Such examples are classified as fusions, so-called hybrids. Though transformation of certain motifs required a very long period of time, they culminated with the hexahedral imposta (Fig. 22d) at Armaztsikhe (the royal residence of the Greater Mtskheta, excavated by A. Apakidze). This appears as a completely transformed, harmonious interconnection of eastern and western motifs, which could be seen as a new architectural style. Many points of comparison are evident in the illustrations provided (Figs 20-22).

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<sup>13</sup> Kipiani 2000, pp. 45-46.

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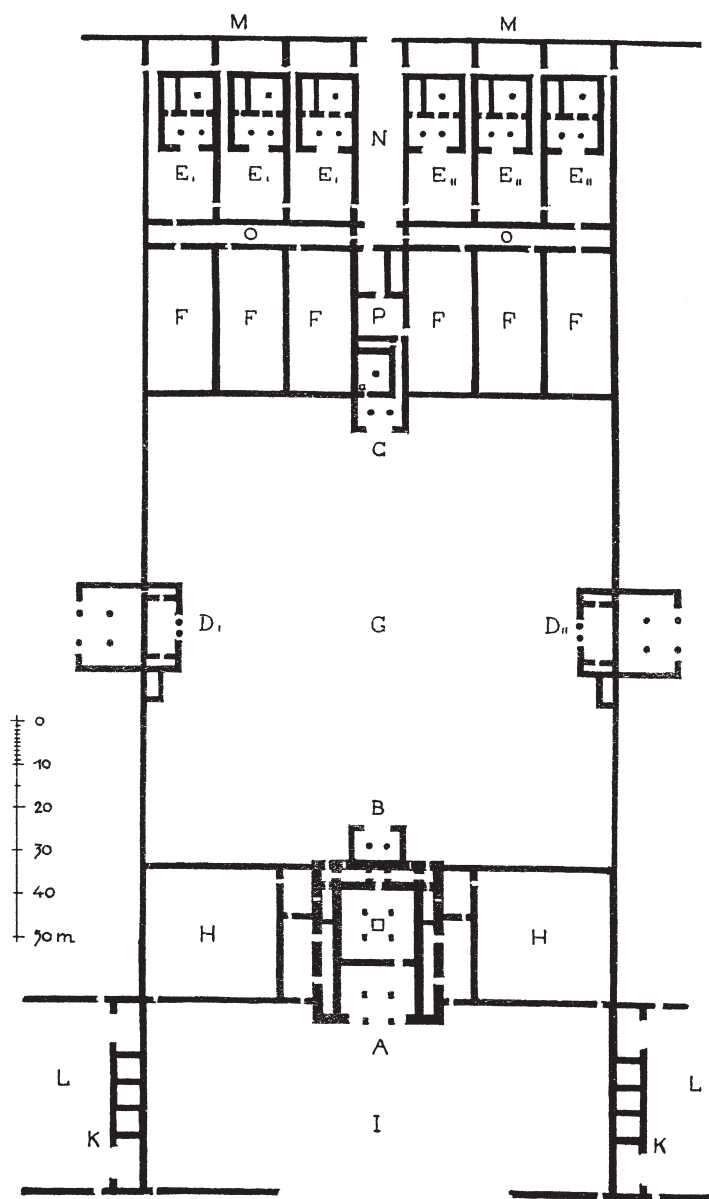


Fig. 1. Dedoplist Mindori, plan. A: main temple propylea; B: minor shrine;  
 C: minor temple; D<sub>I</sub> & D<sub>II</sub>: temple, propylorum; E<sub>I</sub> & E<sub>II</sub>: sections; F: ritual areas;  
 G: central courtyard; H: west and east square courtyards; I: fore court; K: square chambers;  
 L: side courts; N: corridor; O: transverse corridor;  
 P: partitioned court behind minor temple.

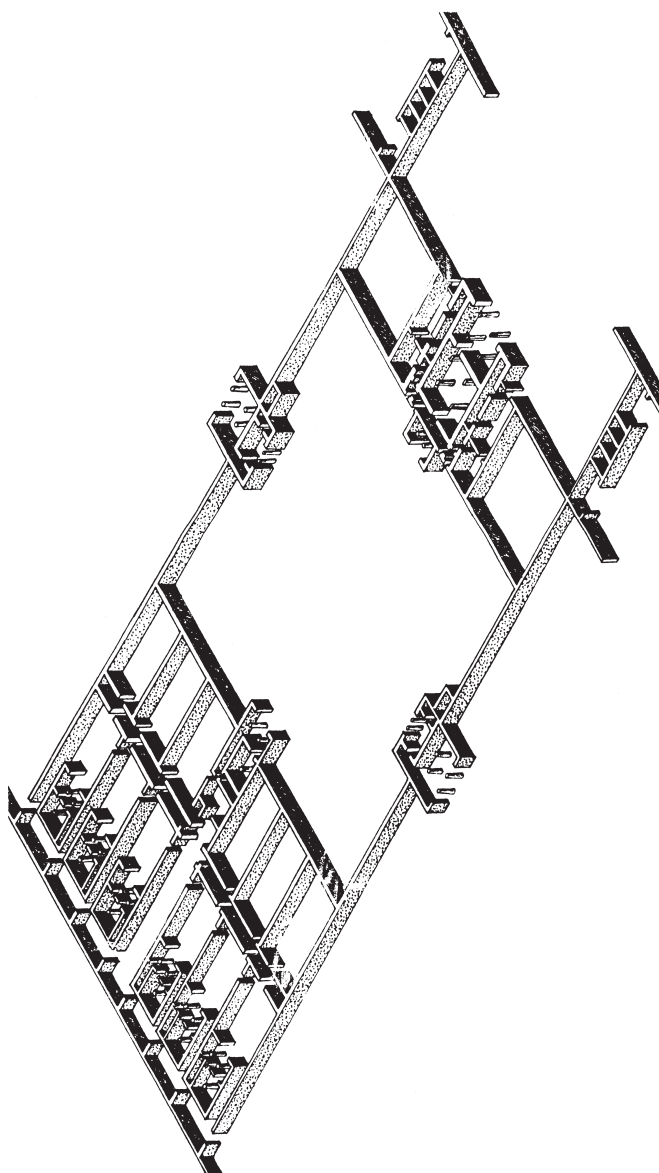
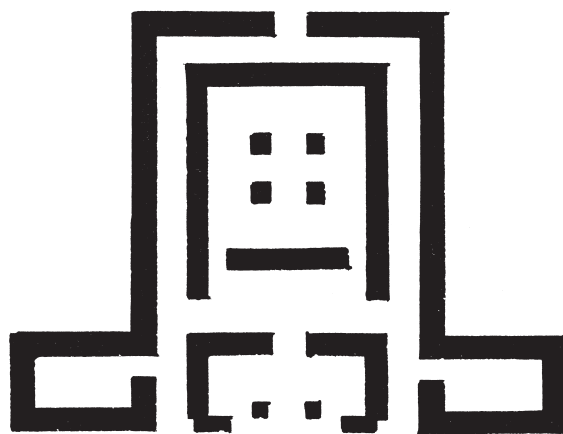
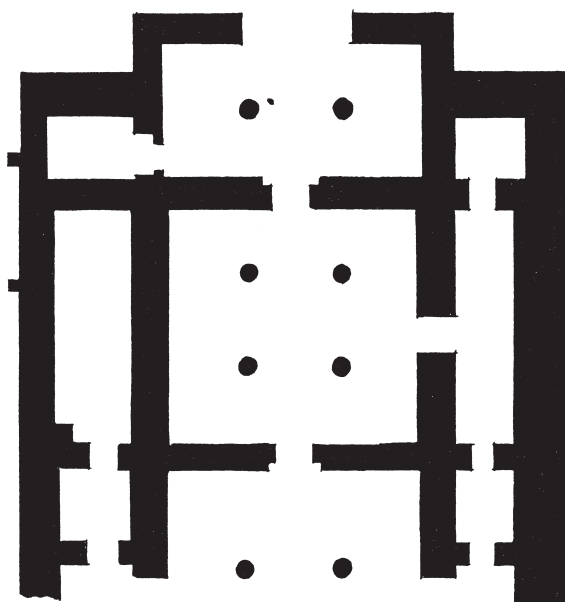


Fig. 2. Axionmetric view of Dedoplis Mindori (drawn by G. Kipiani).





a



b

Fig. 3a. Susa, 'Iadana' (after K. Schippmann);  
b. Persepolis tripylon (after L. Vanden Berghe).

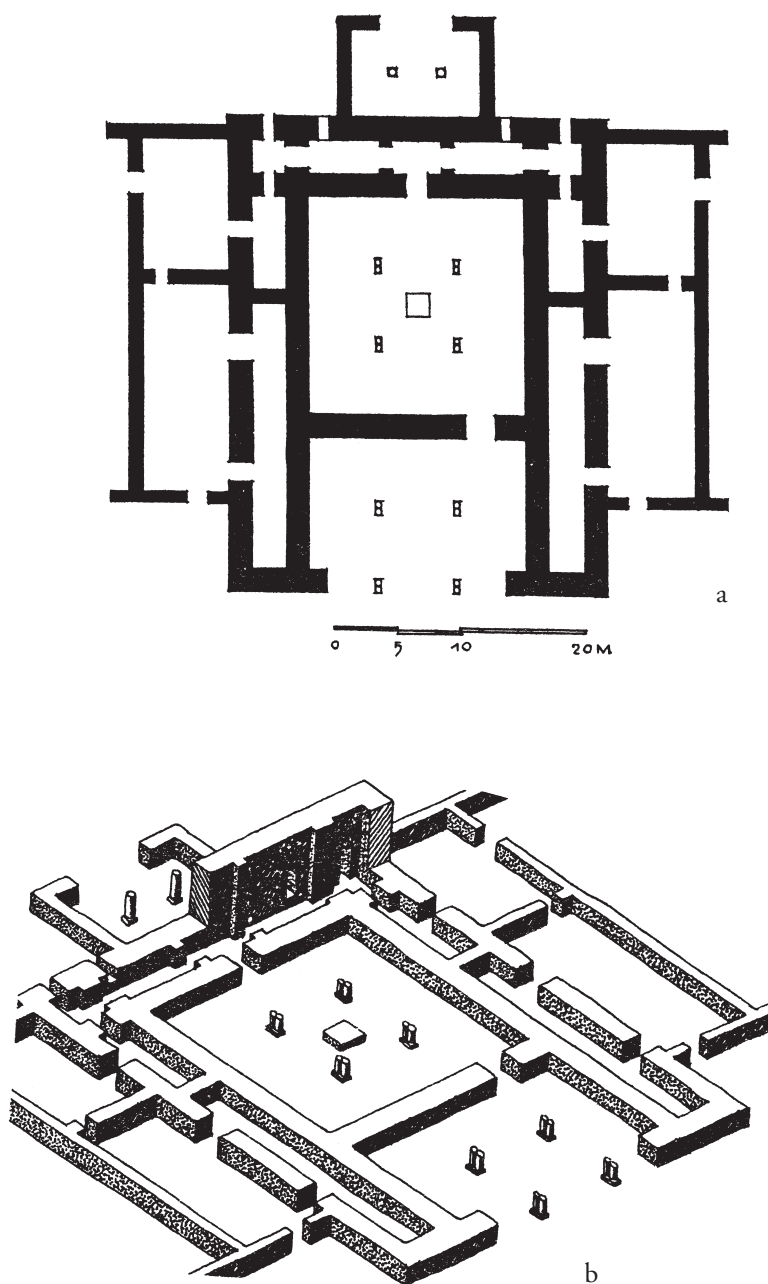


Fig. 4a. Dedoplist Mindori, shrine gate (after J. Gagoshidze);  
b. axonometric view of Dedoplist Mindori, shrine gate (drawn by G. Kipiani).

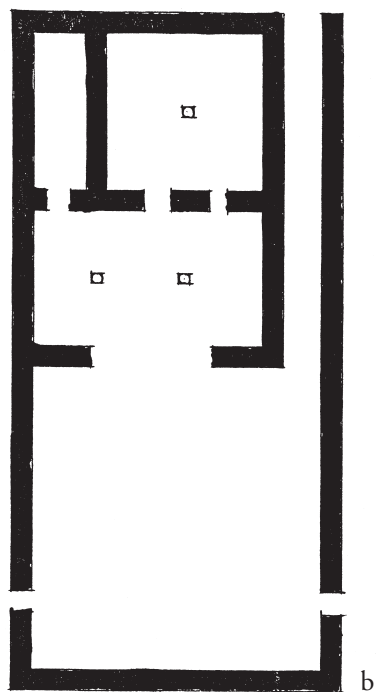
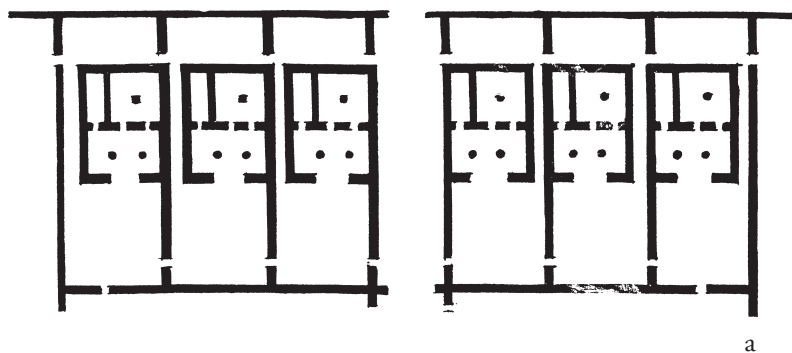


Fig. 5a. Dedoplis Mindori, northern section; b. Dedoplis Mindori, northern building.

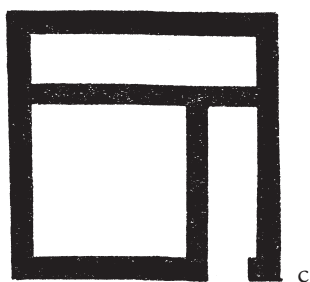
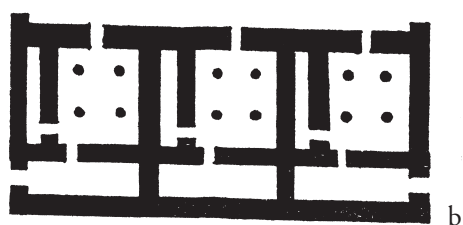
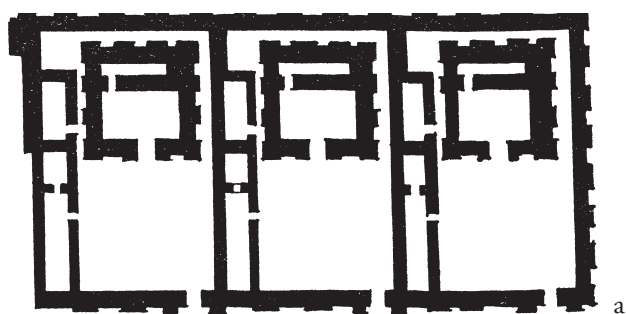
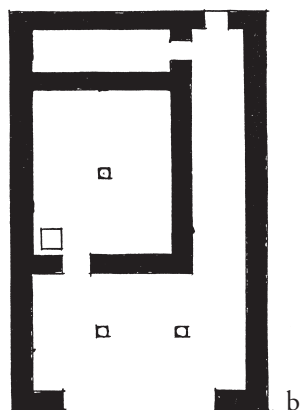


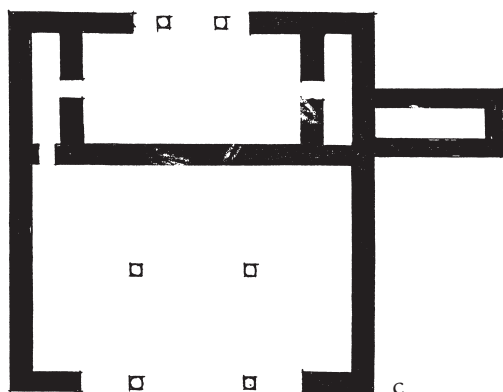
Fig. 6a. Choga Zanbil, square temples (after R. Ghirshman); b. Persepolis, household building (after L. Vanden Berghe); c. a building at Aragats (after O. Khalpakhchian).



a



b



c

Fig. 7a. Plan of a house at Aragats (after R. Ghirshman);  
 b. Dedoplist Mindori, northern gate (temple); c. Dedoplist Mindori, western gate.

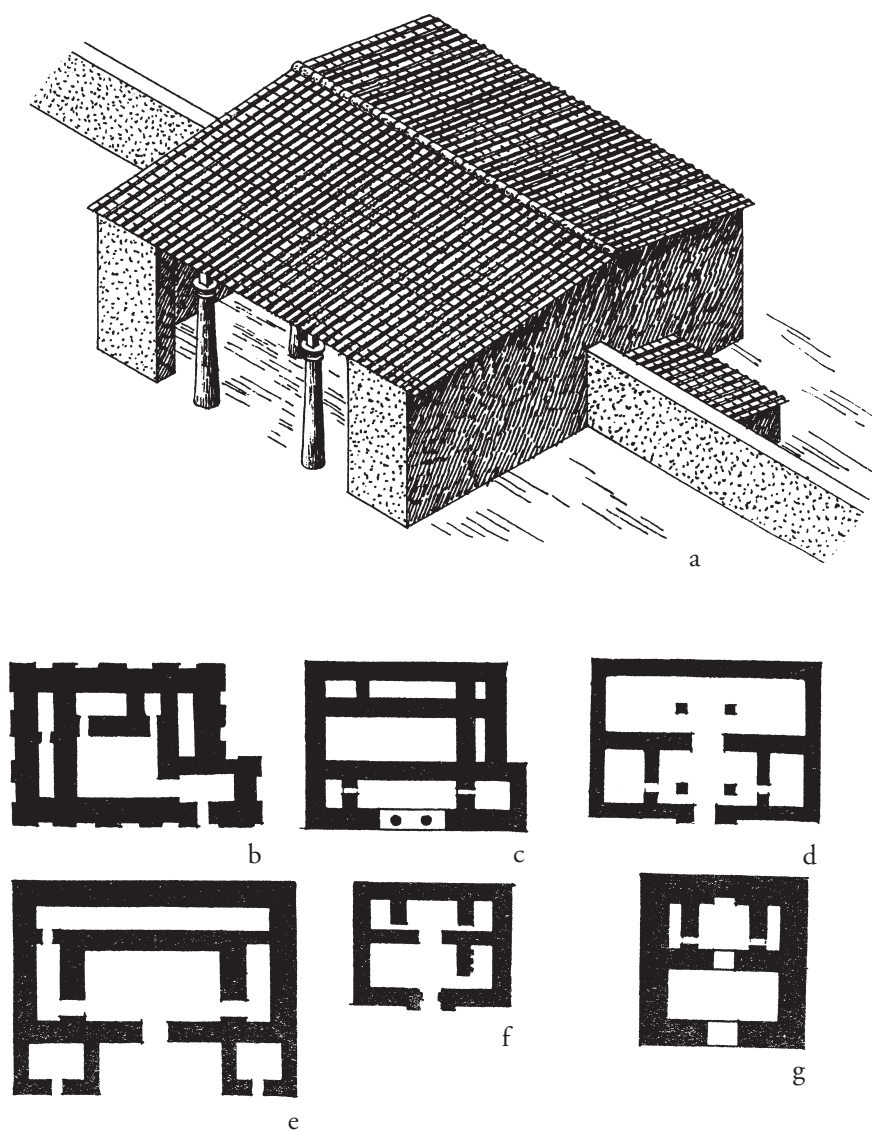


Fig. 8a. Dedoplis Mindori, reconstruction of western gate;  
 b. Choga Zanbil, north-east temple (after R. Ghirshman);  
 c. *Bit Hilani* type building at Shamali (after R. Naumann);  
 d. temple at Tacshaslia (after F. Oelmann); e. temple at Dilberjin (after I. Kruglikova);  
 f. temple at Dura-Europus (after G. Koshelenko);  
 g. temple at Ai' Khanum (after P. Bernard).

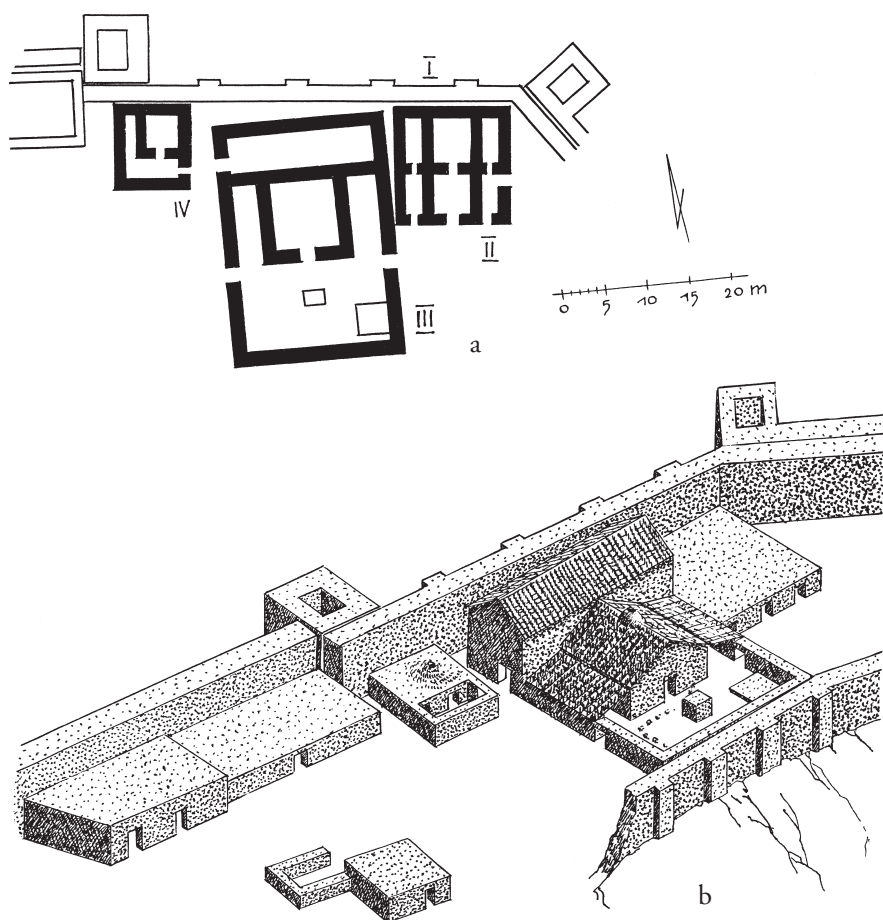
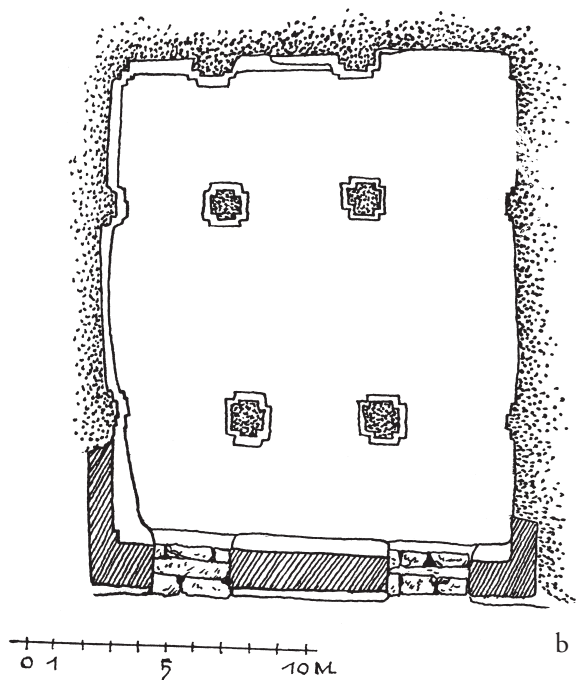


Fig. 9a. Tsikhia Gora I: fortification walls; II: storage area;  
 III: shrine gate; IV: minor temple (after G. Tskitishvili and M. Karashvili);  
 b. Tsikhia Gora I: reconstruction



a



b

Fig. 10a. Modern fire temple, Tehran (after A. Godard);  
b. Uplistsikhe rock-cut fire temple before its conversion into a church (after G. Kipiani).



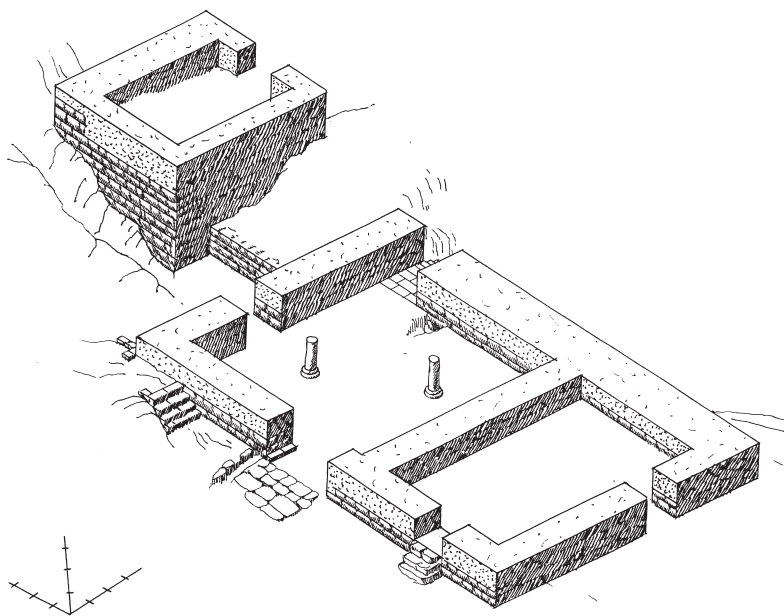


Fig. 11. Vani temple, axionmetric view (G. Kipiani).

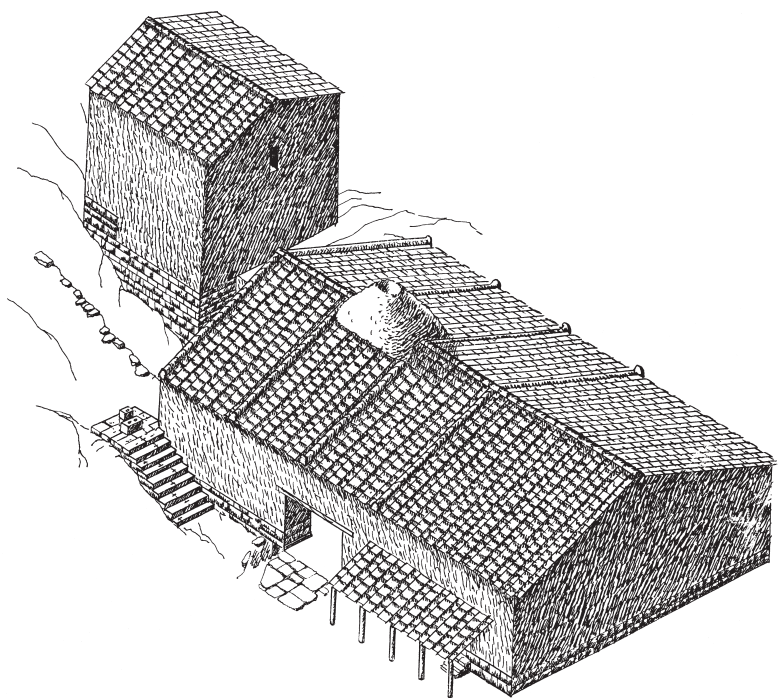


Fig. 12. Vani, temple entrance, reconstruction (G. Kipiani).

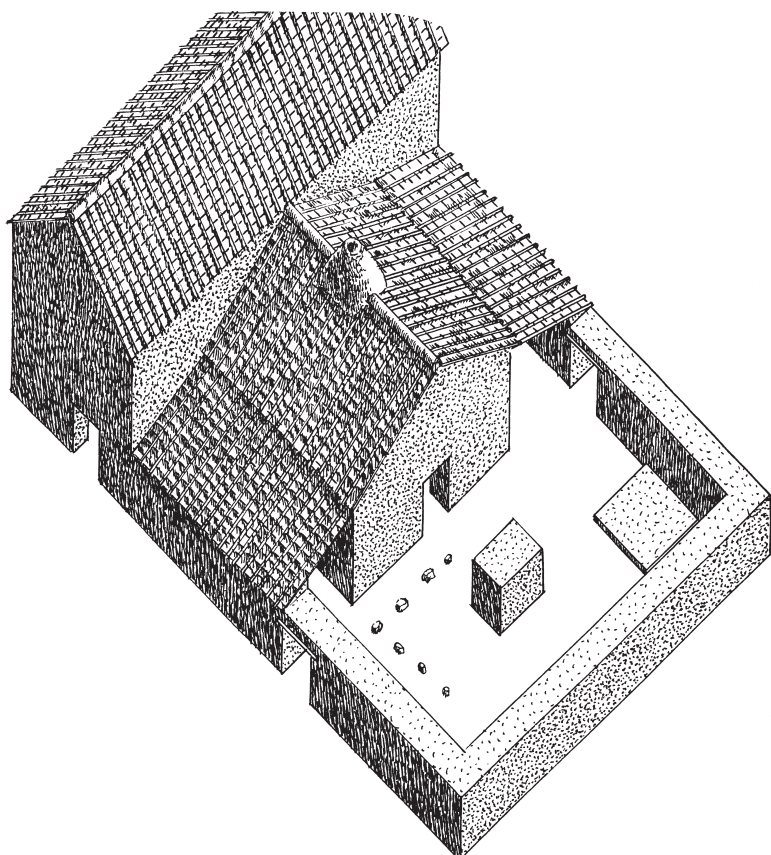


Fig. 13. Tsikhia Gora, temple entrance, reconstruction (G. Kipiani).

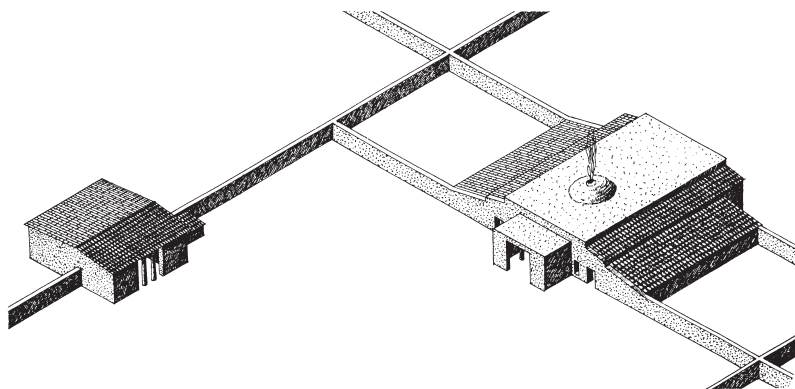


Fig. 14. Dedoplist Mindori, shrine gate and eastern gate, reconstruction (G. Kipiani).

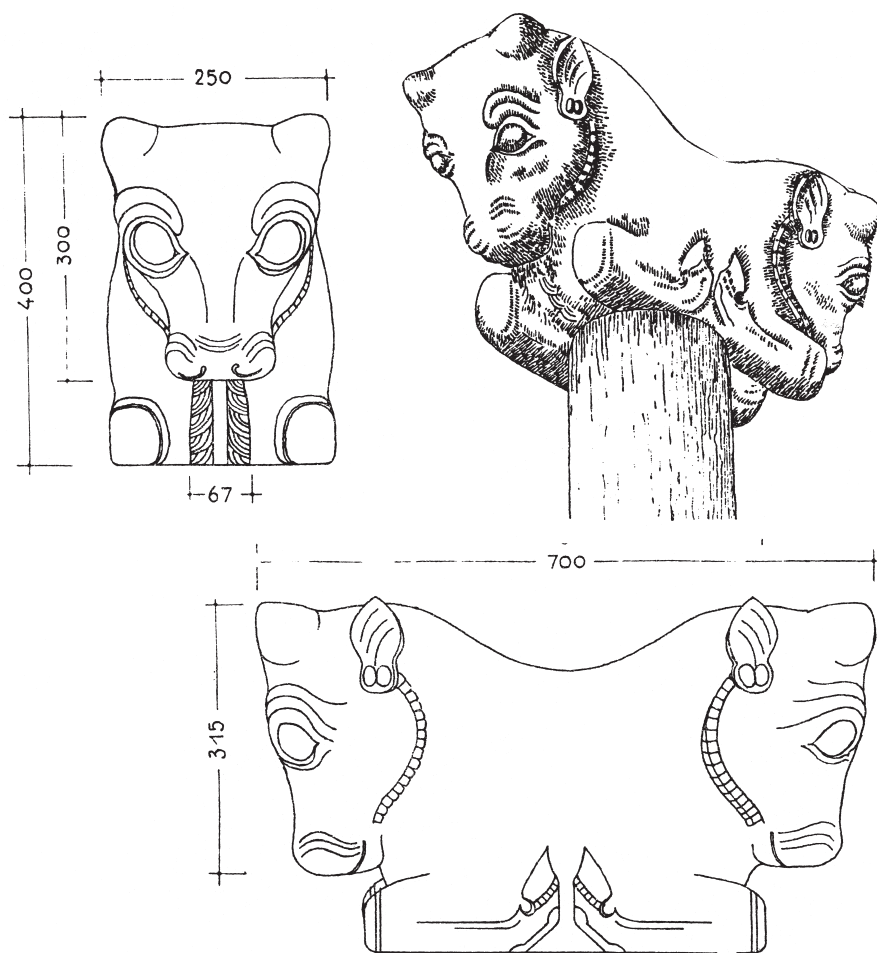


Fig. 15. Tsikhia Gora, twin-headed capital, representing calves, from the central room of the shrine entrance.

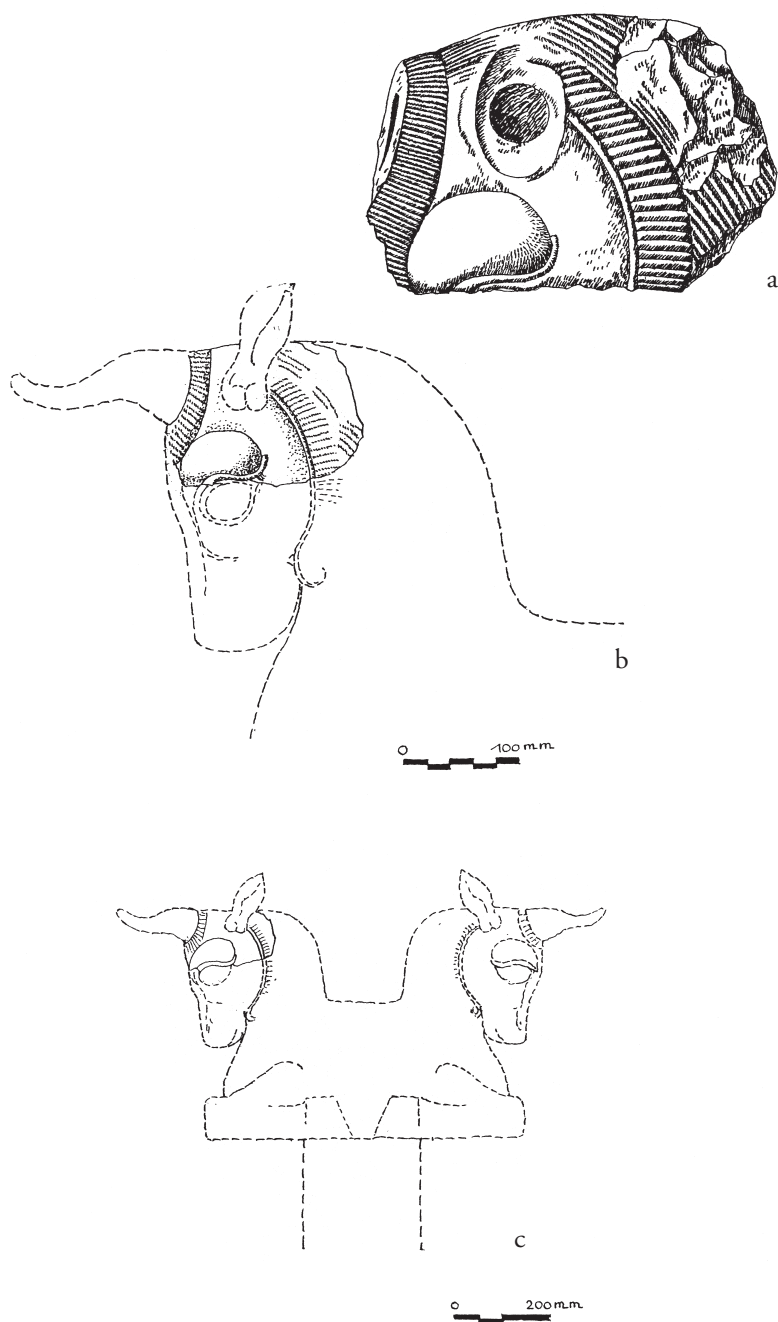


Fig. 16a. Sairkhe, a limestone capital fragment;  
b–c. possible reconstruction of a twin-headed capital representing bulls.

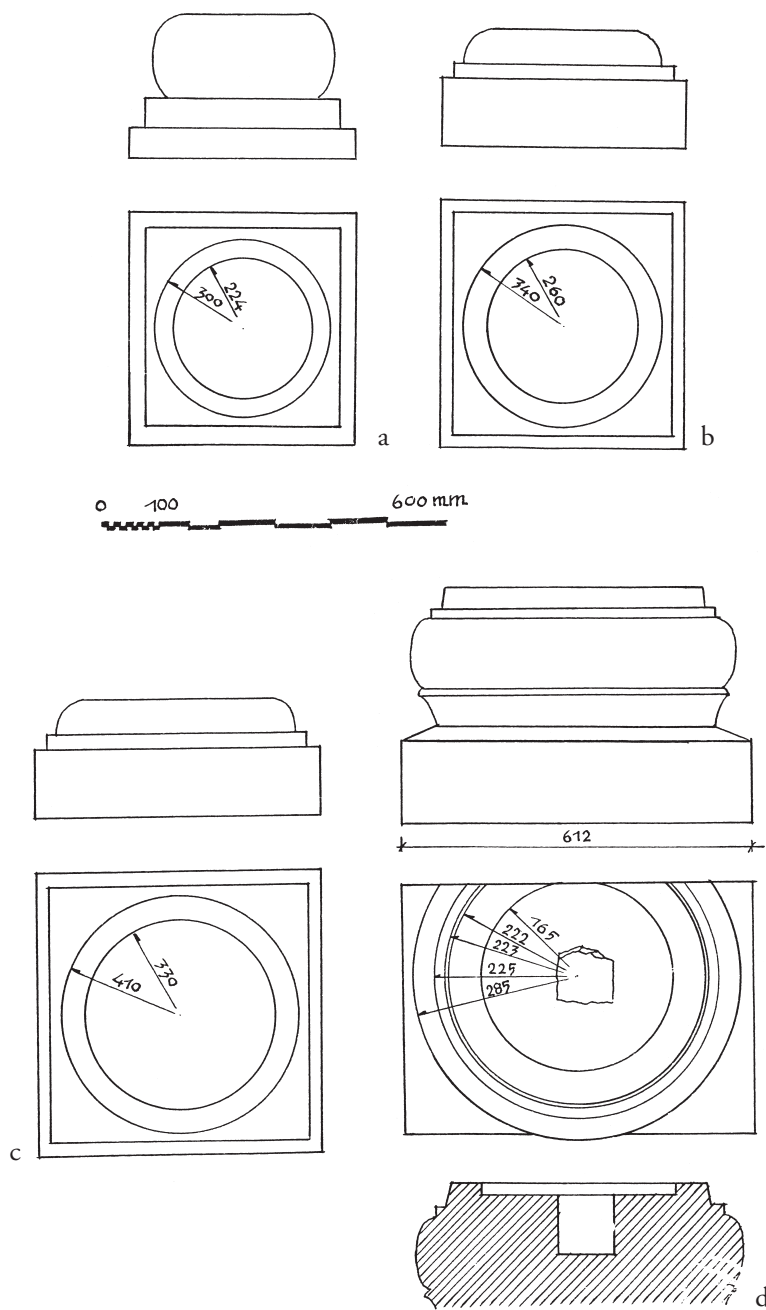


Fig. 17a–c. Rounded base set on a stepped plinth from greater Mtskheta—Nadarbazevi, Nastsgisi ((G. Kipiani); d. elaborate base on plinth from Sarkhine (G. Kipiani).

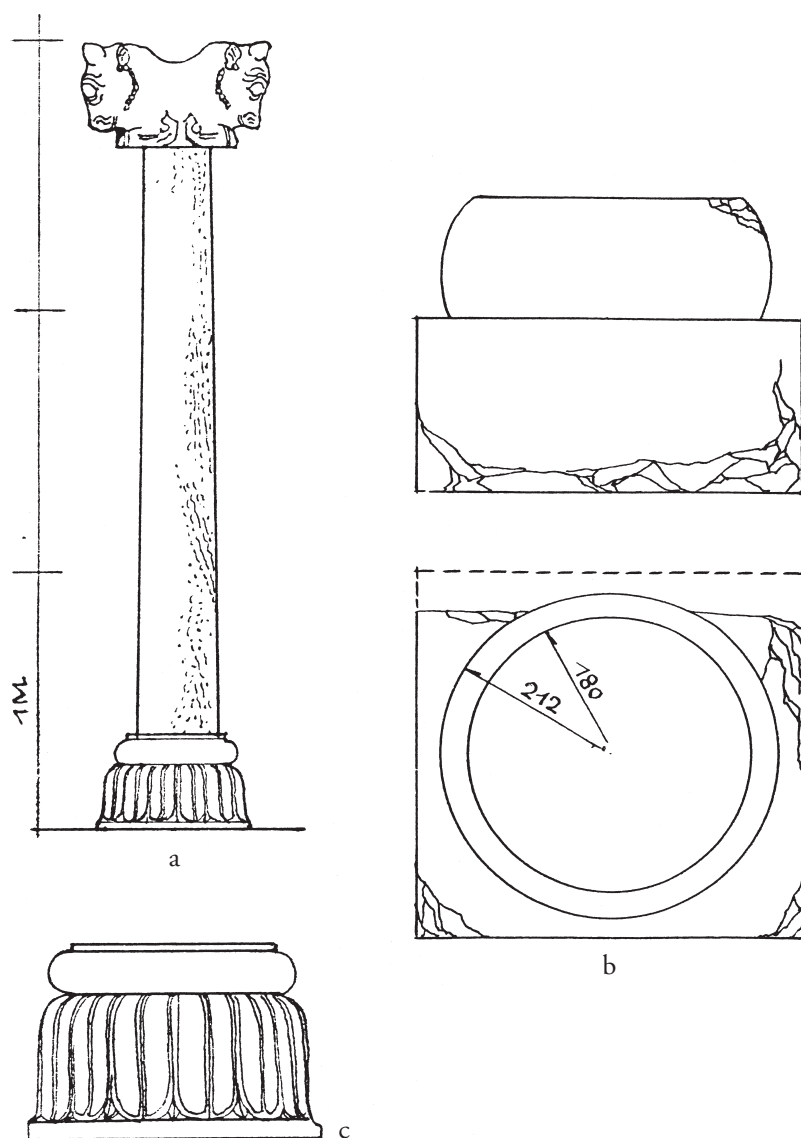


Fig. 18a. Base from Mtskheta (G. Kipiani); b. Tsikhia Gora, bell-shaped base, reconstruction (G. Kipiani); c. Tsikhia Gora column, a reconstruction (G. Kipiani).

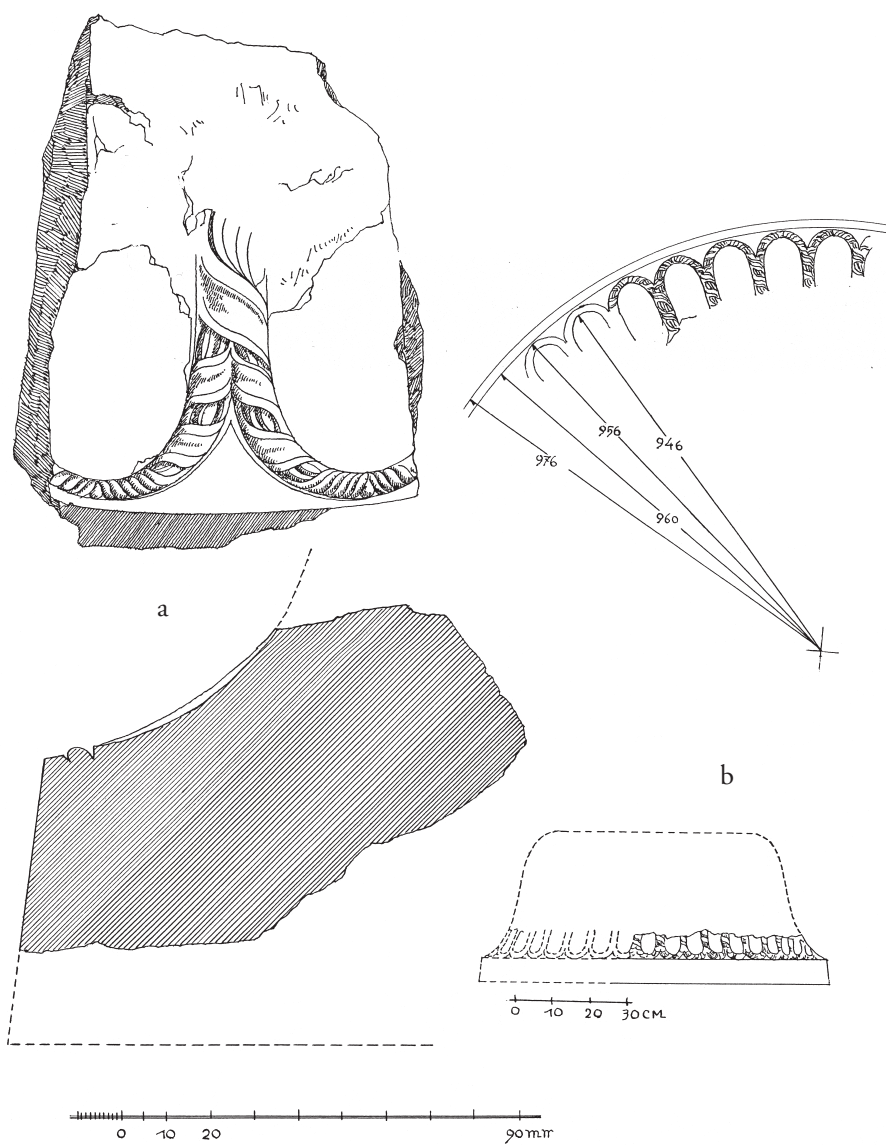


Fig. 19a. Fragment of a bell-shaped base from Sarkhine (G. Kipiani);  
 b. Reconstructions of the same base (G. Kipiani).



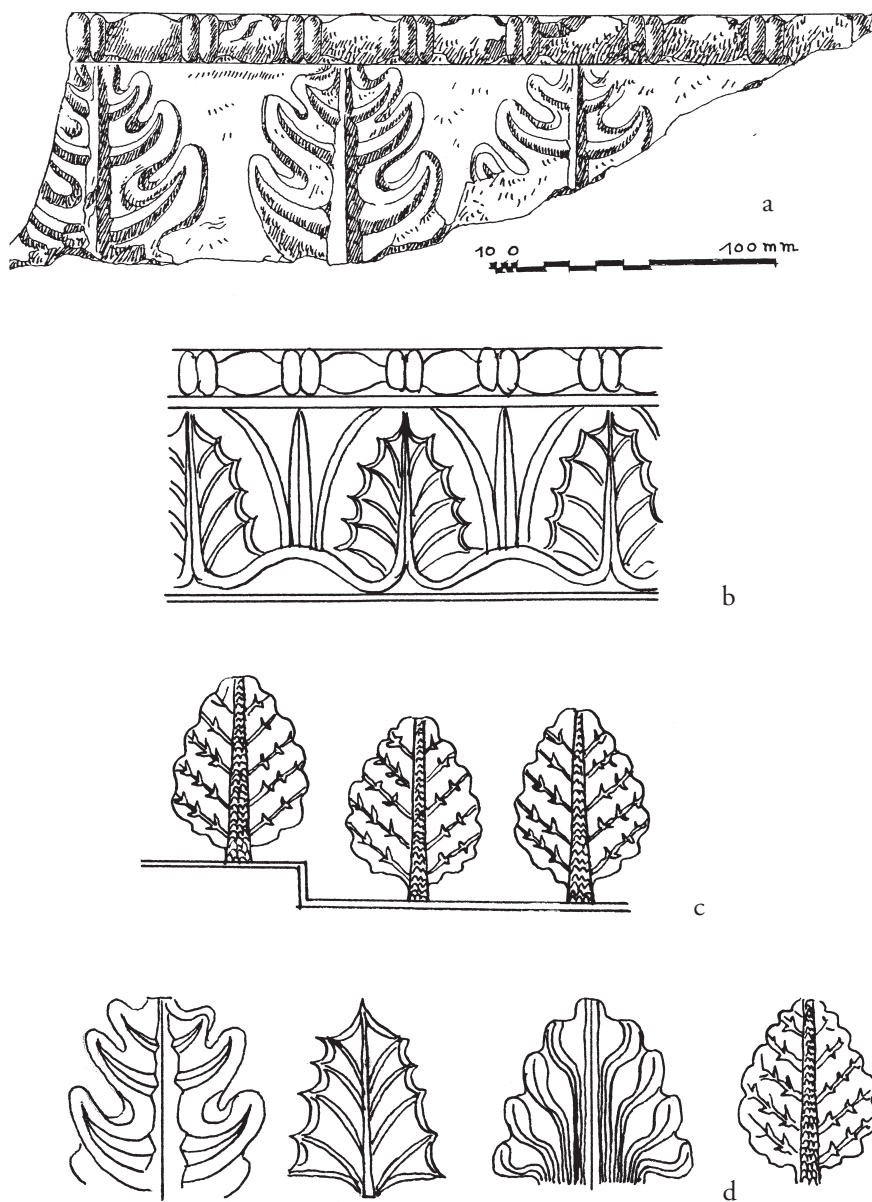


Fig. 20a. A frieze from Armaztsikhe, showing the 'Tree of Life', c. third century A. D.;  
 b. 'Tree of Life' from Perspolis, attesting Greek craftsmanship; c. palmette motif;  
 d. various kinds of floral motifs from Armaztsikhe.



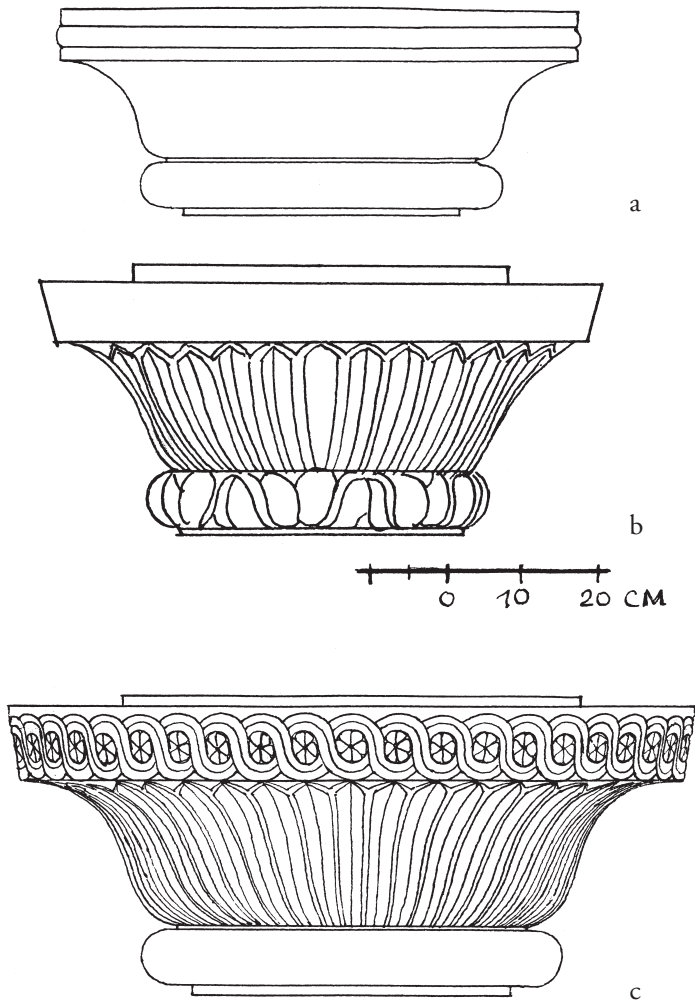


Fig. 21. Lotus-like capitals: a. Sarkhine; b. Shiomgvime; c. Dedoplis Mindori.

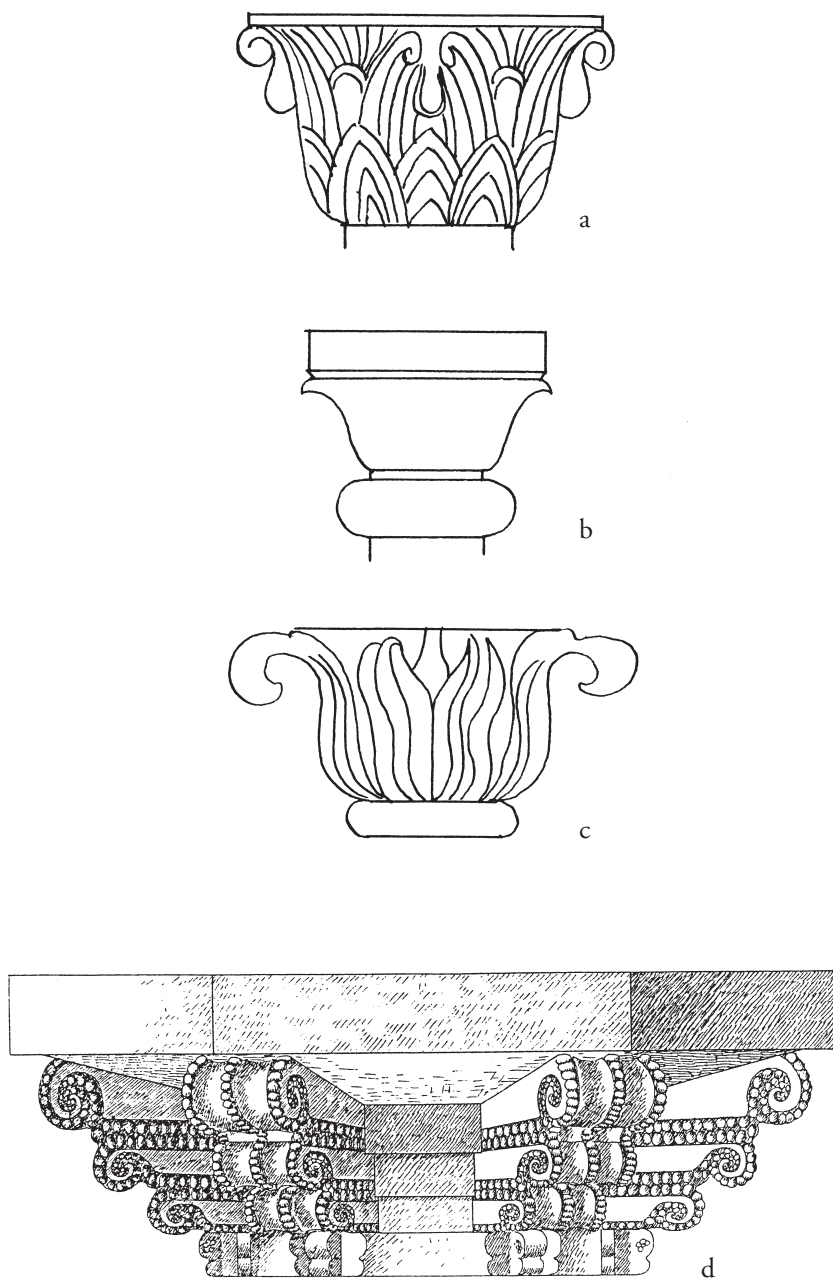


Fig. 22. Lotus-like capitals: a. from Egypt; b. from India; c. from Iran (after Borchardt, Tiulaev and Herzfeld); d. six-sided capital from Armaztsikhe, third century A. D. (G. Kipiani).

# The so-called Scythian Presence in Georgia

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## Abstract

*The identification of 'Scythian' material culture has been often debated and related to it is the question of Scythian presence in a region. This paper concerns the degree to which Scythian craftsmanship influenced Iron Age Georgia by examining a range of artefact types.*

The appearance of Scythian elements in the material culture of Georgia begins simultaneously with the formation of the so-called Archaic Scythian culture, traditionally dated to the end of the seventh and the sixth centuries B. C.<sup>1</sup> These are constituent elements of the so-called Scythian triad used to determine specific character of Scythian culture, namely weapons, including battle axes and arrowheads, parts of horse harnesses, and items treated in the Scythian animal style (scabbard shapes and ornaments of horse harness Figs 1–3). In the last two decades, the latest research has pushed the emergence of the Scythian culture as far back as the end of the eighth century. Some scholars believe that this revised date for the Archaic Scythian complex is supported by evidence from Georgia.<sup>2</sup> This paper attempts to determine the depth of influence of the Scythian elements in local Geor-

<sup>1</sup> Artamonov 1968; Artamonov 1972; Iessen 1954; Ilinskaya 1968; Tekhov 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Kossack 1985; Kossack 1987, pp. 43, 75; Medvedskaya 1992, pp. 87, 88–89; Galanina 1997, pp. 92, 178.

gian culture and to present evidence to support the traditional dating of Scythian artifacts from Georgia.

Two categories of monuments, containing Scythian items can distinguished: (a) settlements with arrowheads of the Scythian type; (b) burials with Scythian objects, in most cases side by side with local artefacts.

The former — ancient settlements dated to the first half of the first millennium B.C. — were burned and destroyed in the middle of the first millennium and Scythian arrowheads were found in the destruction layers. It is noteworthy that four out of five of these settlements are located on the territory of Kakheti (Eastern Georgia **Map 1**). These are:

- The Melaani sanctuary where bronze Scythian arrowheads were the latest objects found at the site. Four different shapes are identified among them: [i] two-lobed — rhomboid, socketed, barbed; [ii] three-lobed — barbed, socketed; [iii] three-lobed — short socketed, without a barb; [iv] three-edged (**Map 2**).<sup>3</sup>
- Mochrili Gora, where the following types are found: two- or three-lobed, socketed and three-edged (**Map 3**).<sup>4</sup>
- The Tsiskaraant Gora settlement. Six bronze, two-lobed, asymmetrical, socketed arrowheads, each provided with a barb were found in the destruction layer (**Map 4**).<sup>5</sup>
- Usakhelo Gora. Among the finds were two-lobed, socketed, and barbed arrowheads; and three-lobed with short socket, without a barb (**Map 5**).<sup>6</sup>

According to the traditional dating, the arrowheads from the above-mentioned sites belong to the seventh to sixth centuries B.C. These are well-known shapes of the Zhabotin and Kelermes types, comprising the first chronological group of the early Scythian arrowheads classified by A. Melyukova.<sup>7</sup> The date of the destruction of the sites has been debated.<sup>8</sup> As it is, these arrowheads are the earliest forms of the Archaic Scythian type. It seems that the destruction of these sites might have taken place a little earlier than the diffusion of the elements of the Scythian culture in burials. This is determined on the basis of context and some early forms of arrowheads, such as the massive two-lobed, asymmetrical-rhomboid ones of the

<sup>3</sup> Pitshkelaury 1965, pl. XXVIII; Pitshkelaury 1973, pp. 121–122.

<sup>4</sup> Pitshkelaury 1973, pp. 31–32, pl. II.

<sup>5</sup> Furtwängler, Knauf and Motzenbacker 1997, pp. 374–378, fig. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Furtwängler, Knauf and Motzenbacker 1999, pp. 259–263, fig. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Melyukova 1964, p. 18, pl. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Furtwängler, Knauf, Lohr and Motzenbacker 1997, p. 387. Pitshkelaury, Gagoshidze, Maisuradze, Kvavadze, Furtwängler and Knauf 1997, pp. 42–43.

Zhabotin type. Of great importance is the fact that arrowheads of these early types were found at the Sergent-Yurt settlement in Chechnia.<sup>9</sup> This settlement is burnt like the above-mentioned sites of Georgia, and the arrowheads are connected with the destruction level as well.

The multi-layered settlement of Khovle Gora stands by itself. Here archaic two-lobed, socketed and barbed, and three-lobed arrowheads were found in the horizon dated to the sixth century B. C. (**Map 6**).<sup>10</sup> It is notable that precisely in this layer the black-figure fragment was discovered.<sup>11</sup> Other arrowheads came from the layer of the fifth to fourth centuries B. C., namely three-lobed and three-edged, with short sockets, which belong to the second chronological group.<sup>12</sup> It is difficult to establish the ethnic attribution of these arrowheads. It is generally believed that the earliest arrowheads, which were also found in Asia Minor, were associated with Cimmerians. On the other hand, other types (three-lobed, oval, rhomboid) are thought to belong to the Medes because they had weapons similar to those of the Scythians. To date, many Scythian-type arrowheads have been found at places where battles with the Medes took place.<sup>13</sup>

As for burials with Scythian items, they are represented both in Western and Eastern parts of Georgia. The Scythian-type material from these burials consists of mobile and easily adapted elements, connected with military life (**Figs 1–3**).<sup>14</sup> This material was traditionally dated to the end of the seventh to sixth centuries B. C. based upon the typological resemblance to Scythian objects found in the Kelermes kurgans, which were dated by the presence of Greek imports.<sup>15</sup> This traditionally accepted date was revised, however, in accordance with newer evidence from recent investigations to the second half of the seventh century B. C.<sup>16</sup> The change in chronology occurred when G. Kossack and his followers pushed back the beginning of the early Scythian culture, dating it to the second half of the eighth century B.C.<sup>17</sup> Of great importance in this revision is the famous Scythian kurgan, Repyakhovataya Mogila. This barrow is of special interest for us, since it contains Greek imports<sup>18</sup> and has many similarities with Scythian types

<sup>9</sup> Ilinskaya and Terenozhkin 1983, p. 22, figs.9–11.

<sup>10</sup> Muskhelishvili 1978, pp. 41, 108, pl. LXII.

<sup>11</sup> Muskhelishvili 1978, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Muskhelishvili 1978, pp. 90, 97, pl. LXII.

<sup>13</sup> Cleuziou 1997, pp. 190–193, fig. 1. Pitskhelauri 1965, p. 106. Dyakonov 1956, p. 254.

<sup>14</sup> Pirtskhalava 1995, pp. 53–62, map 1.

<sup>15</sup> Abramishvili 1957, pp. 127–132, pl. I. Iessen 1954, p. 113; Maksimova 1954, p. 305; Maksimova 1956, pp. 224, 232; Artamonov 1968, pp. 41–43; Artamonov 1972, pp. 59–61.

<sup>16</sup> Kisel 1999, pp. 111–125; Galanina 1983, p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> Kossack 1987, pp. 43, 75; Medvedskaya 1992, pp. 87, 89.

<sup>18</sup> Ilinskaya, Mozolevskii and Terenozhkin 1980, 1980,31–63, figs 26–28.

found in Georgia. The presence of a Milesian amphora in the Repyakhovataya Mogila attributed by renowned experts of Eastern Greek Pottery (R. Cook and P. Dupont) enables us to date this burial to the middle and the second half of the sixth century B.C.<sup>19</sup> The striking resemblance of the Repyakhovataya Mogila burial with the Scythian type inventory from Georgia enables us to date the Georgian material to the same period. The Repyakhovataya Mogila, then, allows us to date the following components:

- Bronze horse bits with stirrup-like rings and corresponding three-looped iron psalia (Qulanurkhva)<sup>20</sup> (Figs 1–3)
- Short bone rods with mushroom-shaped heads — fastenings of the gorytus and arrow quivers (Samtavro) (Fig. 4: 10–12)
- Akinakes with archaic typological features (almost in all burials with Scythian inventory) (Figs 1–3)
- Iron axe with features characteristic of the sixth century B. C. (in many burials of Georgia)
- Different types of arrowheads

It is worth noting that the earliest short bone rods with mushroom-shaped heads are represented among the inventory of the Temir-Gora barrow, which contains a South Ionian oenochoe of the Middle First Wild Goat style dated to 640–625 B. C..<sup>21</sup> This fact confirms the traditional dating of the burials with early Scythian items excavated in Georgia. Thus, burials excavated in Georgia containing Scythian type elements must be dated to the second half of the seventh to sixth centuries B.C. We can distinguish earlier and later burials within the span of this period. For instance, to the earlier stage — the second half of the seventh century to the beginning of the sixth century B. C. — belong burials with Colchian bronze axes (Tli 85 and 68, Figs 5:1–5; 6; 7). Whereas those of the second stage contain iron weapons only (Tli 216, 258, Figs 8–9).<sup>22</sup> To the third stage are ascribed burials of the Brili 29 type, where a silver radial earring was found (Figs 10–12). Earrings of this type, dated to the fifth century B. C., were found together with Greek imports at Vani.<sup>23</sup>

In general, all these artefacts of Scythian-type found in Georgia are similar to those from the Kelermes complexes. They are also comparable to Near Eastern examples, but the best links are with the Northern Caucasus

<sup>19</sup> Cook and Dupont 1998, p. 170, fig. 23,7–b and c; pp. 174–175, note 195' pp. 201, 209.

<sup>20</sup> Pirskhalava 1978, pp. 42–43, pl. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Murzin 1984, pp. 17–19, 70–71. Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 36, 38–39, 197, fig. 8–5.

<sup>22</sup> Pantskhava 1988, pp. 62–65.

<sup>23</sup> Chqonia 1981, pp. 17–21, 150.

where a strong Scythian influence is noticable. In burials of Georgia, Scythian elements are accompanied by objects that are characteristic of local culture. Here, the spread of Archaic Scythian elements did not change the style of local forms; their appearance did not influence the manufacture of local weapons, nor alter the type of burials. Simultaneously with the formation of the so-called Scythian culture, its components overlay different local cultures (Eastern or Western Georgian) to a varying degree based largely on the local conditions.

The massive distribution of Scythian objects ceased in the fifth century B. C., and we have only singular examples of arrowheads among the burials of the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. There are several graves that deserve special attention. Two are from Kakheti<sup>24</sup> and one is from Bogviskhevi,<sup>25</sup> which are dated to the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. (Fig. 5: 6–7). These burials contain Scythian objects and among them we can find three bronze plaques with very stylized representations of a coiled animal and a beak of a bird. Analogies for these objects can be found in Azerbaijan, in the Near East, and in Asia Minor, as well as on representations of Persian reliefs, showing Persians bearing gorytus with similar attached plaques.<sup>26</sup> These plaques were connected with the Achaemenid world. We suggest that at this stage, the burials containing such plaques reflect contacts with the Achaemenid world rather than with the Scythian world.

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<sup>24</sup> Mamaishvili 1980, pp. 103–115, pl. 30–31.

<sup>25</sup> Tushishvili 1970, pp. 127–140, figs 7–3.

<sup>26</sup> Moorey 1980, p. 63, fig. 10, N217, 218; Baitinger 1999, pp. 132–134, figs 8–9, 6–7.

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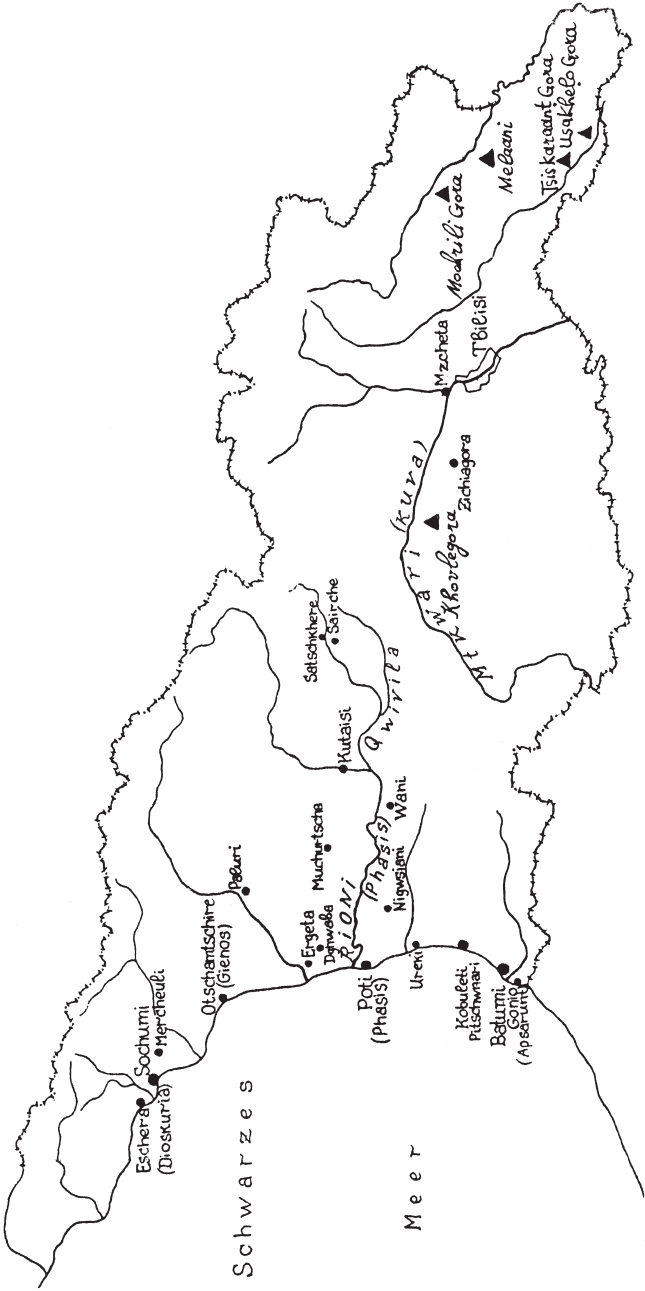
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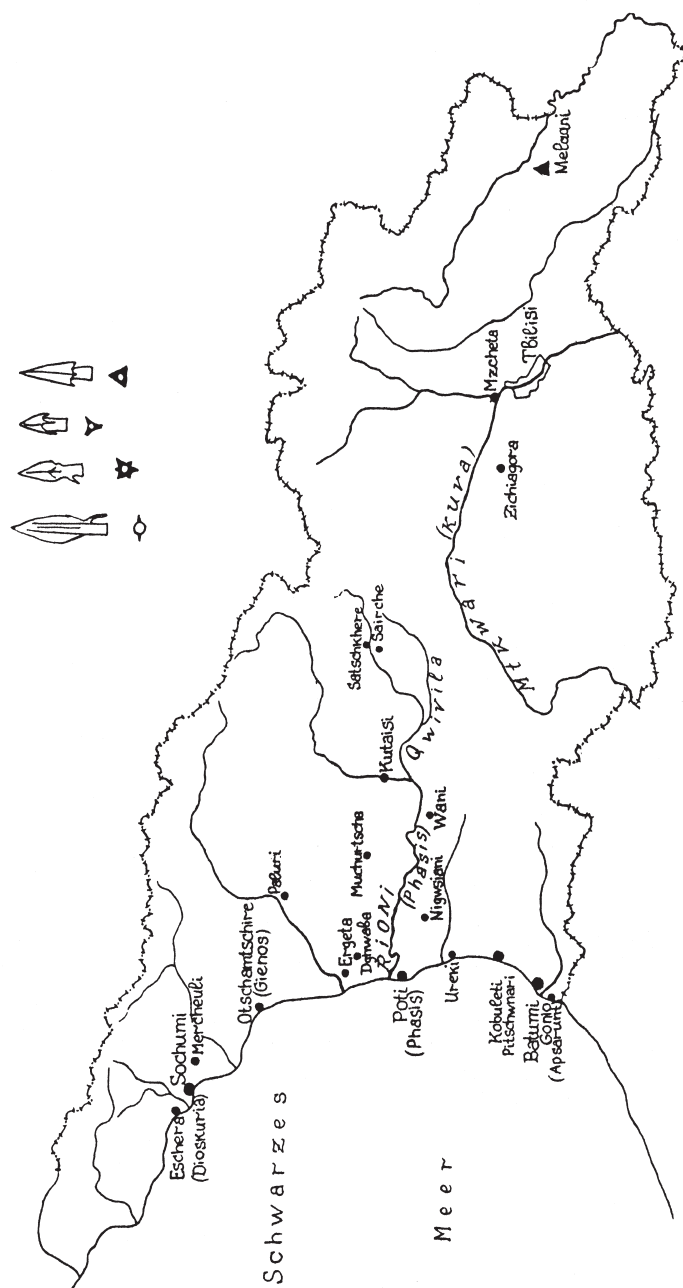
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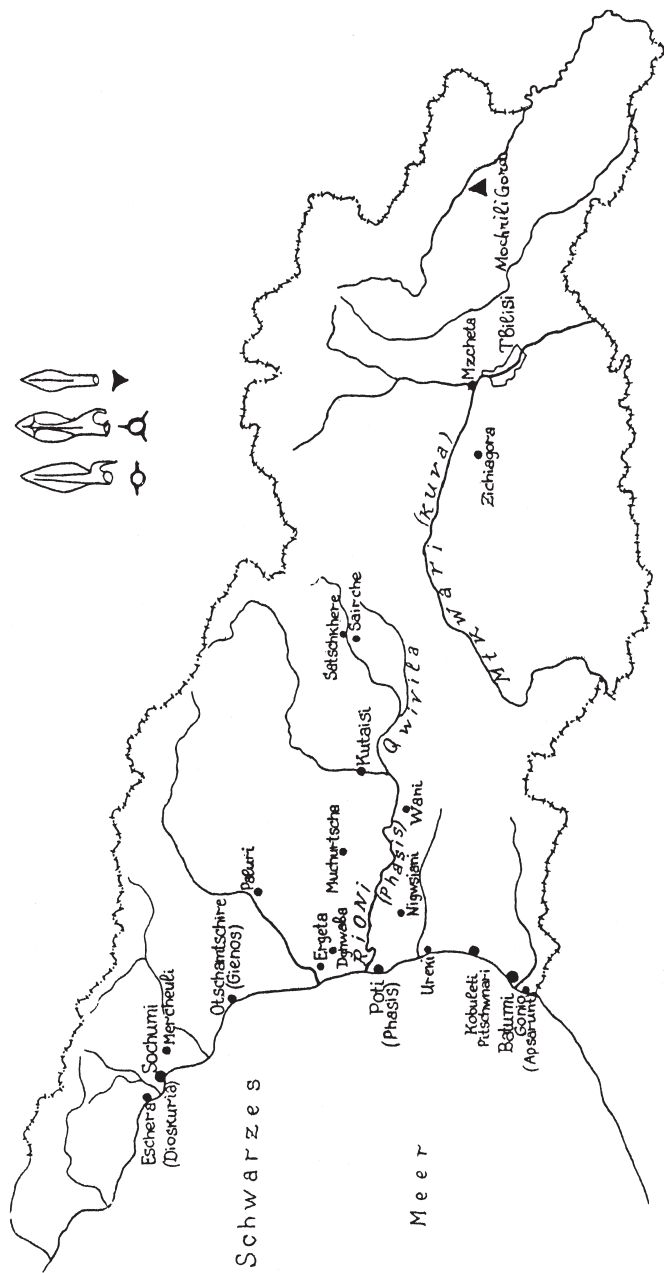
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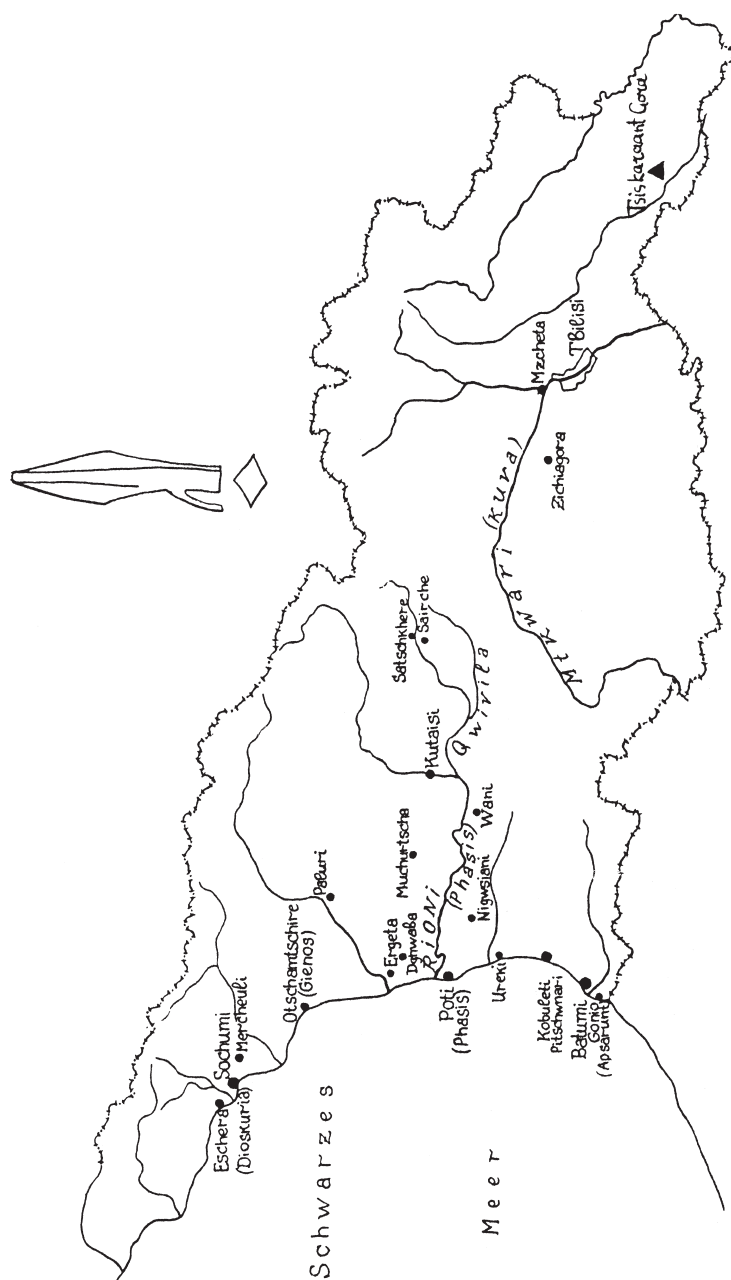
Map 1 Map of Georgia showing settlements with Scythian type arrowheads



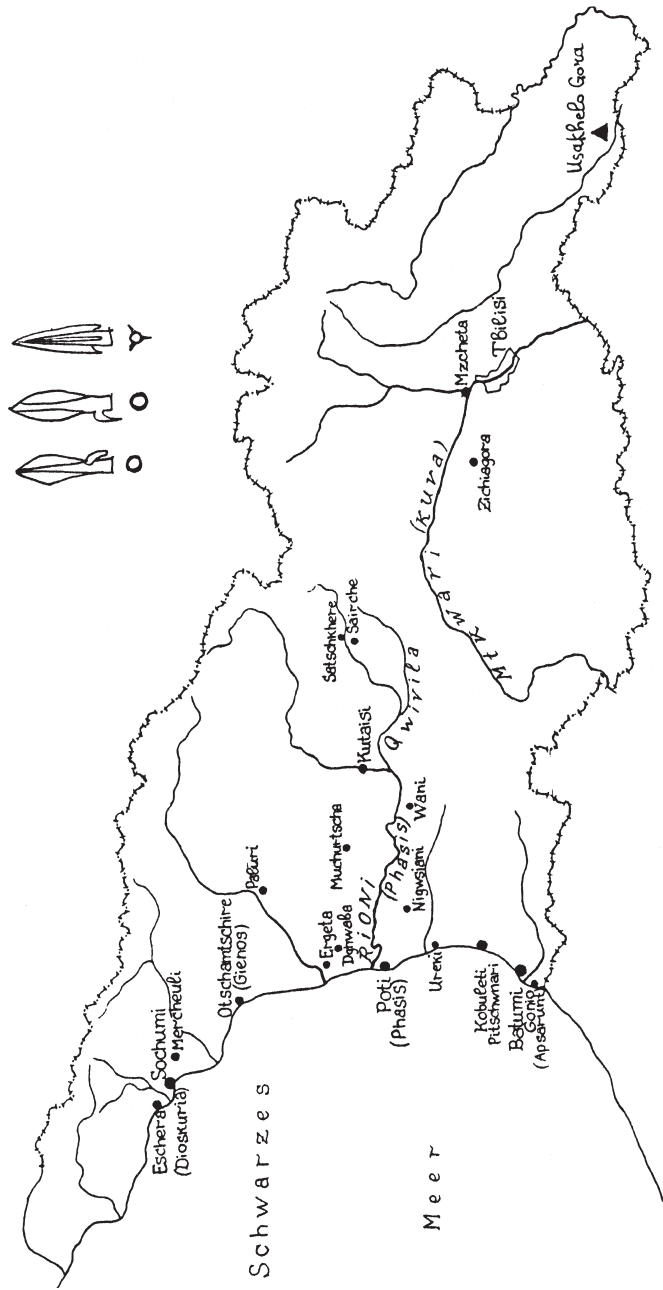
Map 2 Map of Georgia showing settlements with Scythian type arrowheads



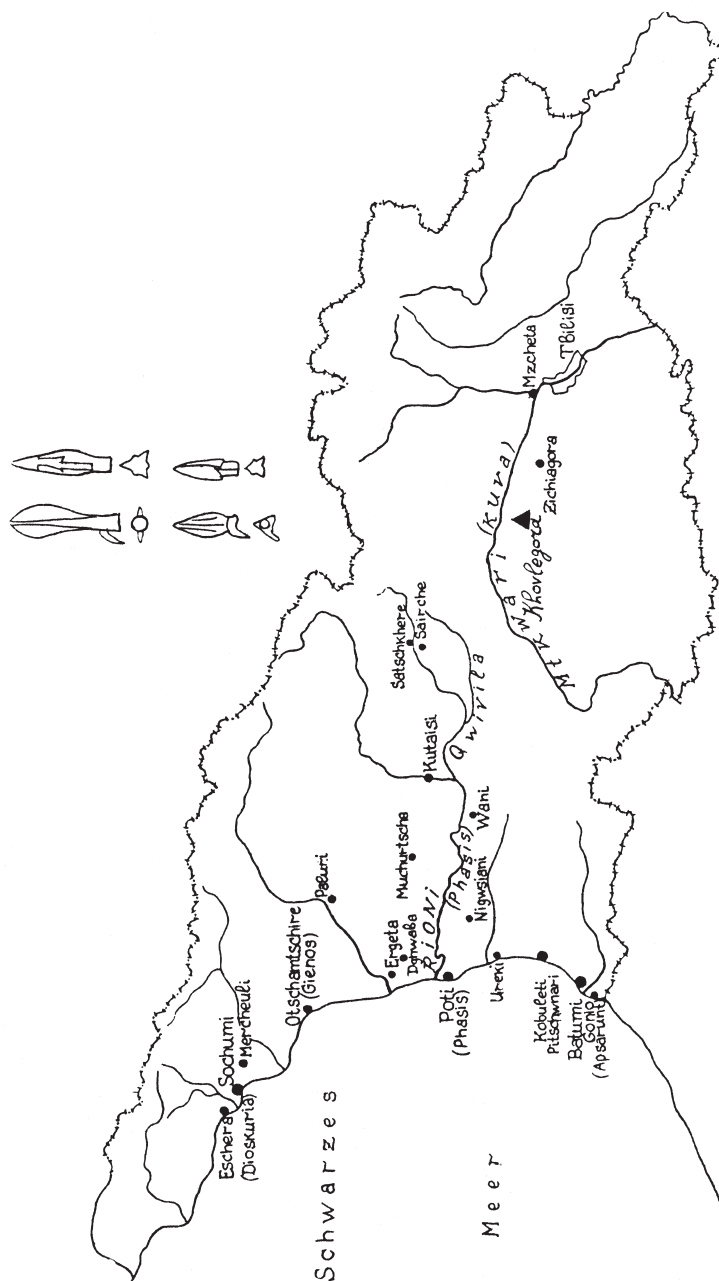
Map 3 Map of Georgia showing settlements with Scythian type arrowheads



Map 4 Map of Georgia showing settlements with Scythian type arrowheads



Map 5 Map of Georgia showing settlements with Scythian type arrowheads



Map 6 Map of Georgia showing settlements with Scythian type arrowheads



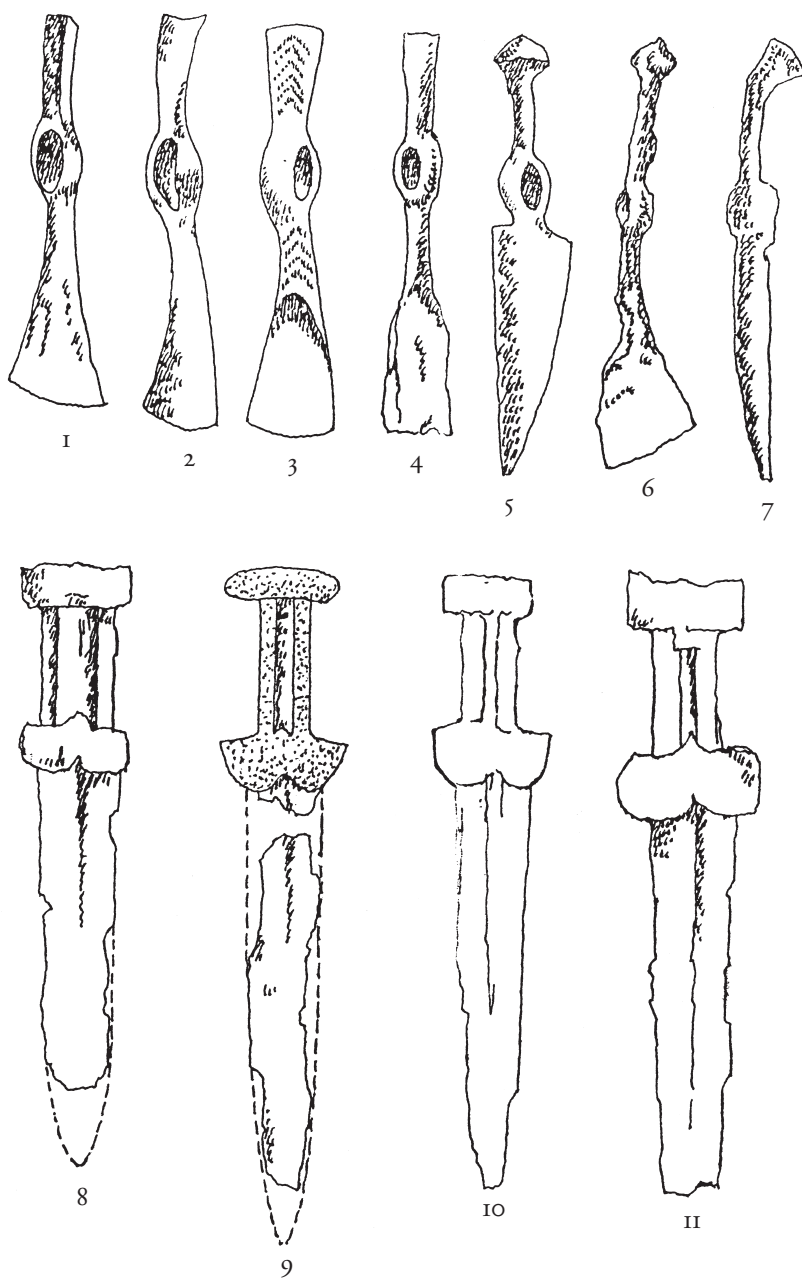


Fig. 1 Archaic Scythian metalwork

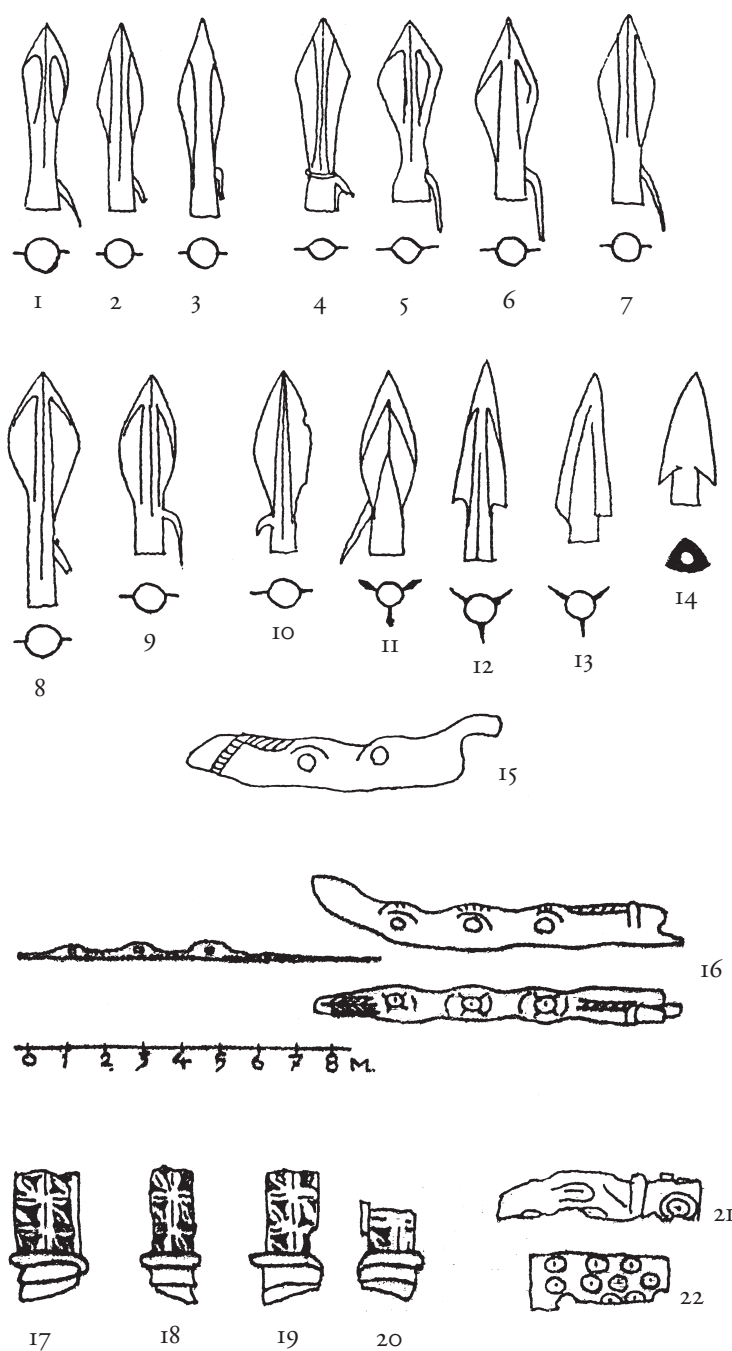


Fig. 2 Archaic Scythian metalwork

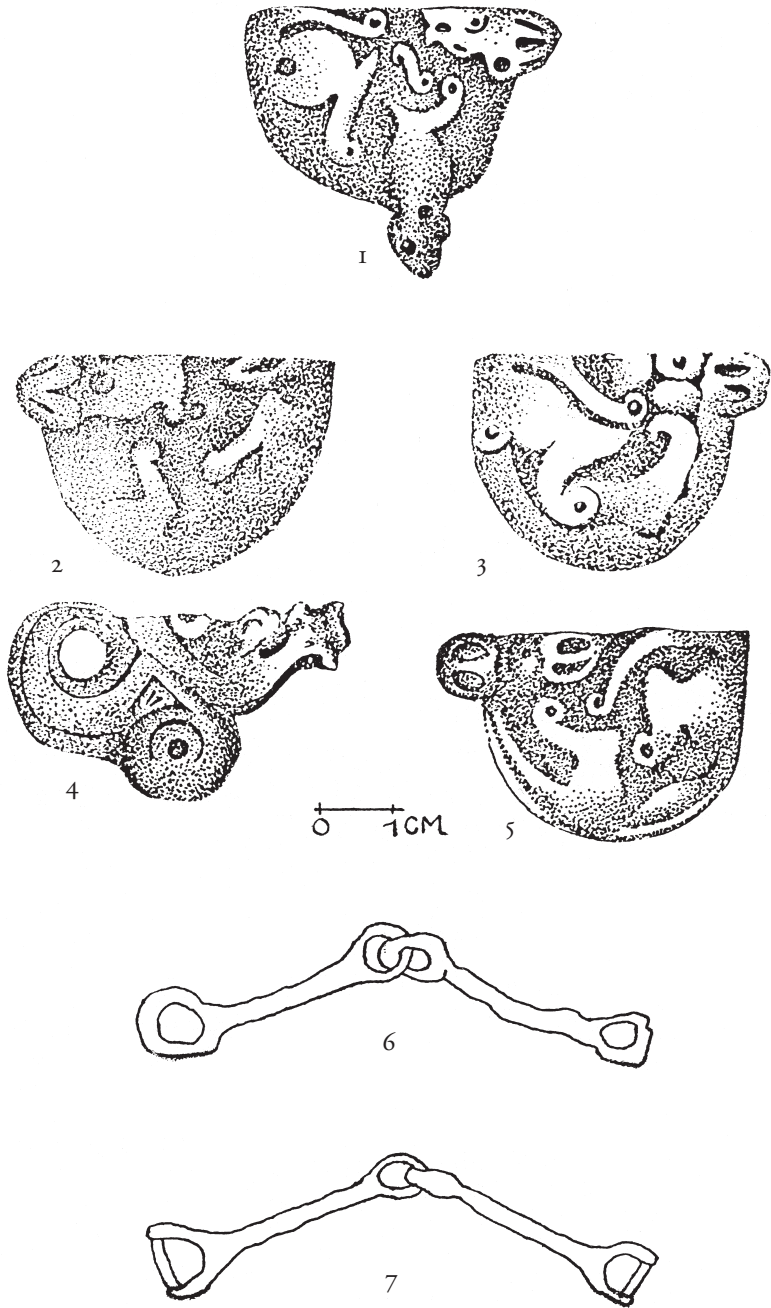


Fig. 3 Archaic Scythian metalwork

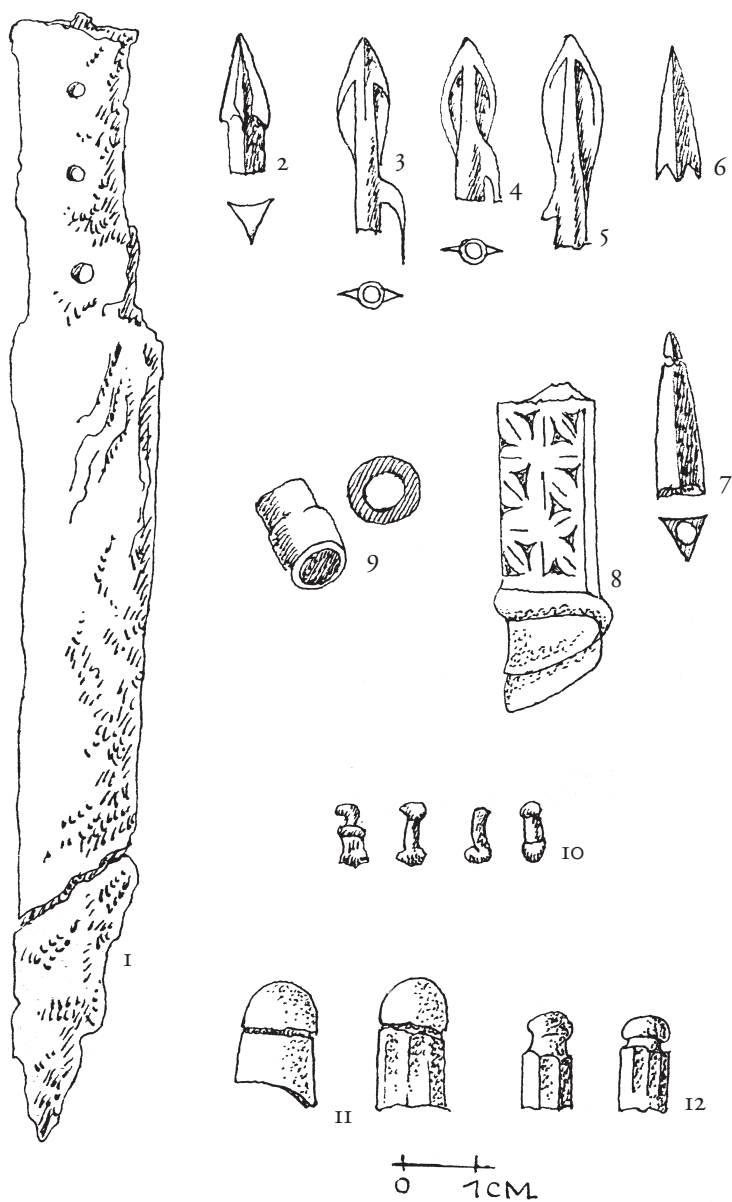


Figure 4

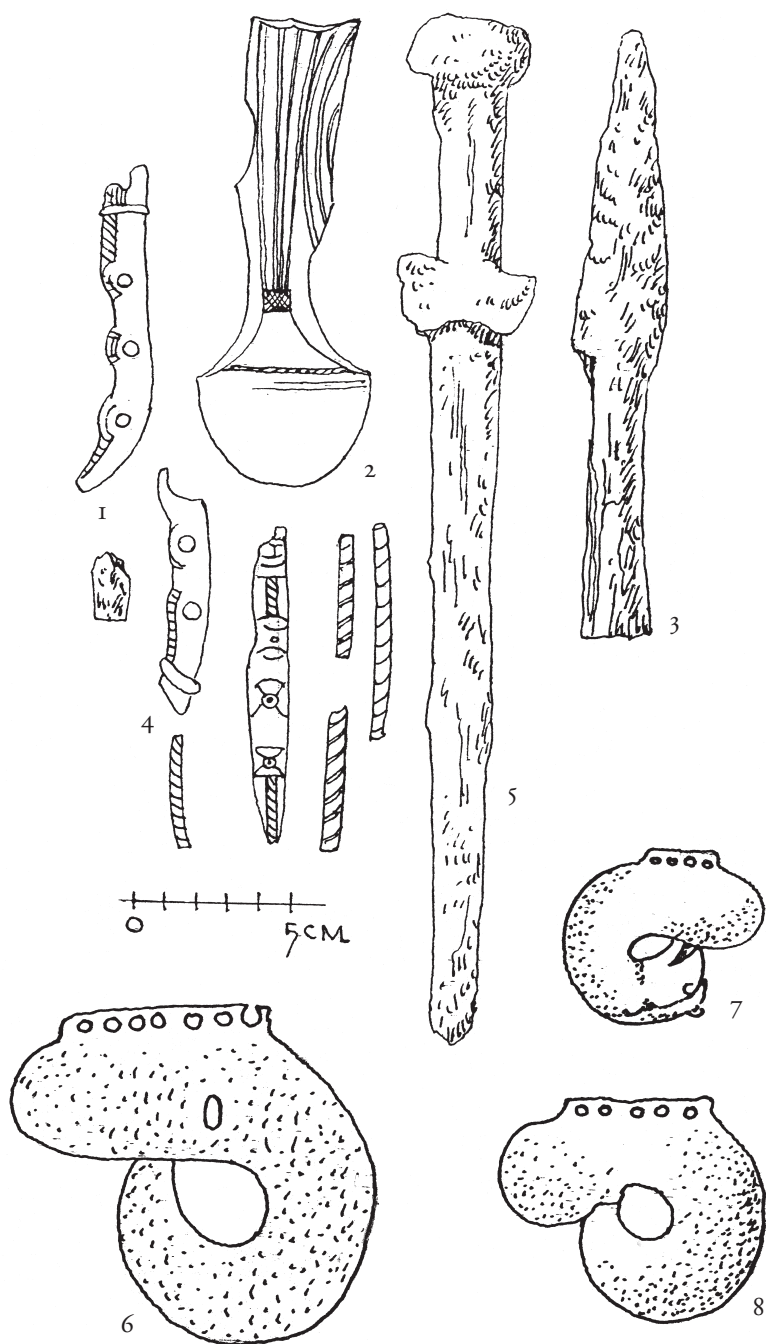


Figure 5

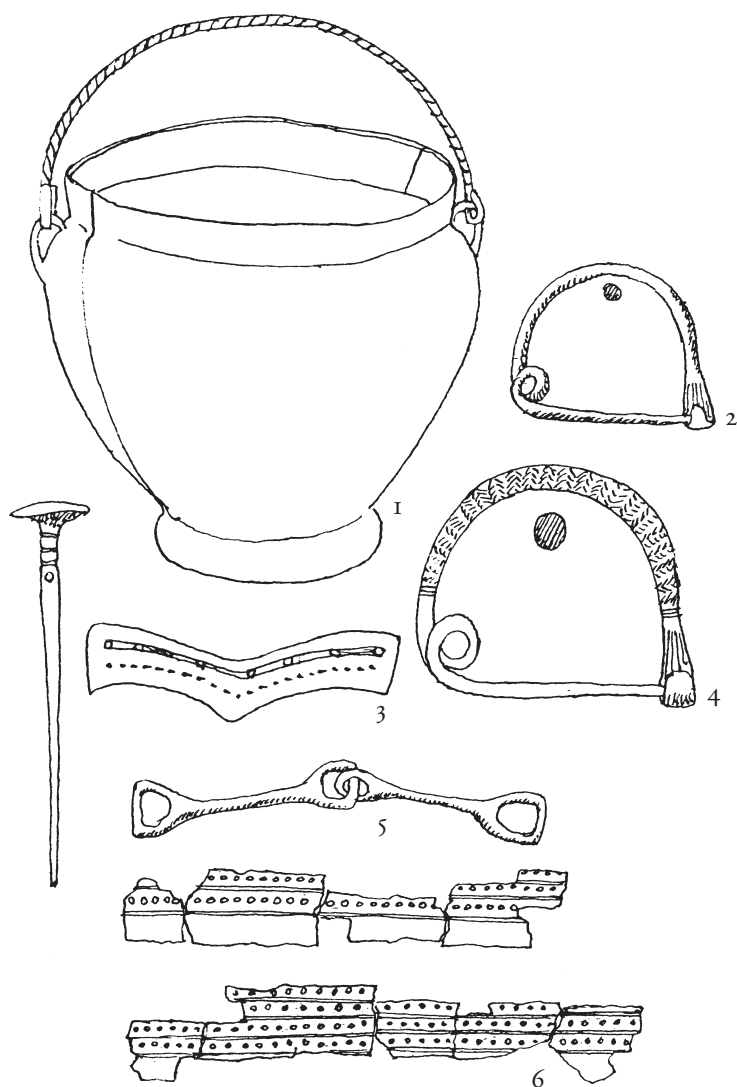


Figure 6

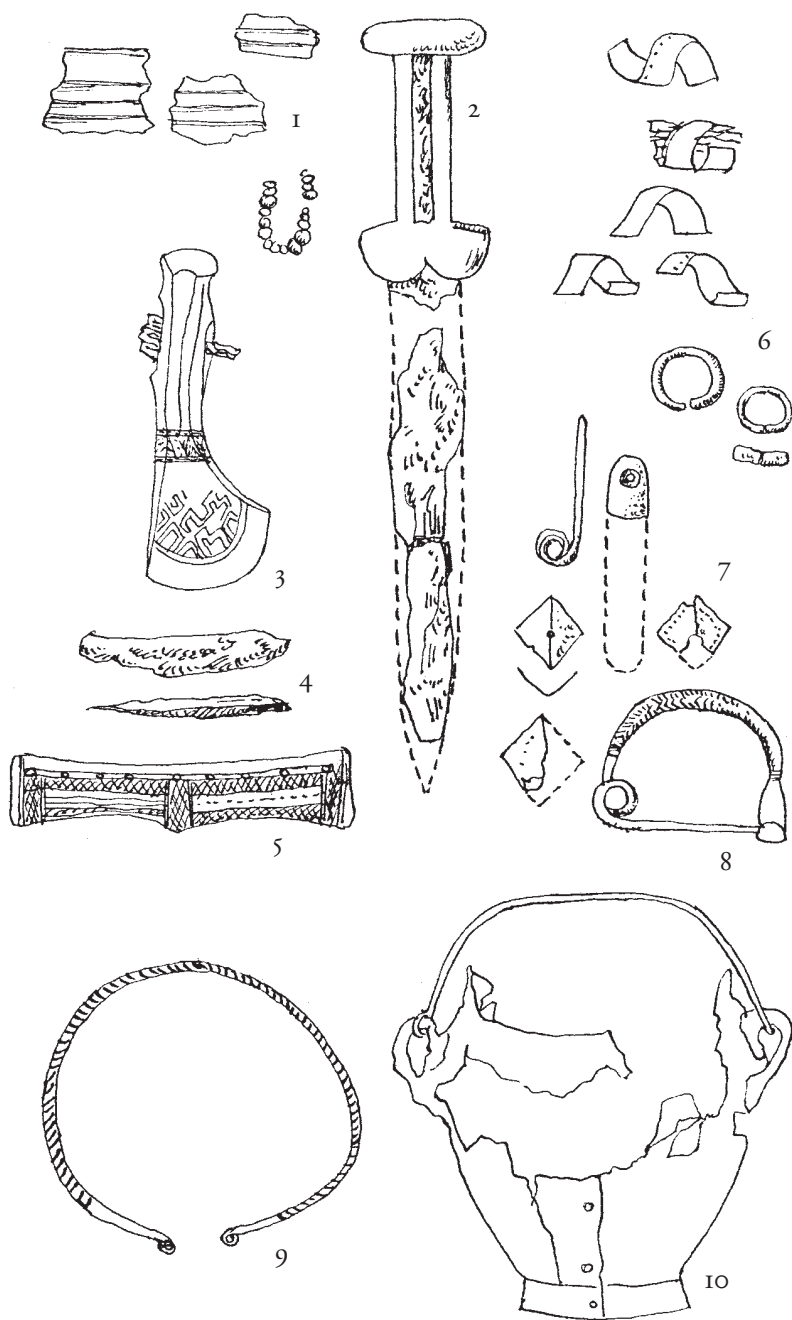


Figure 7

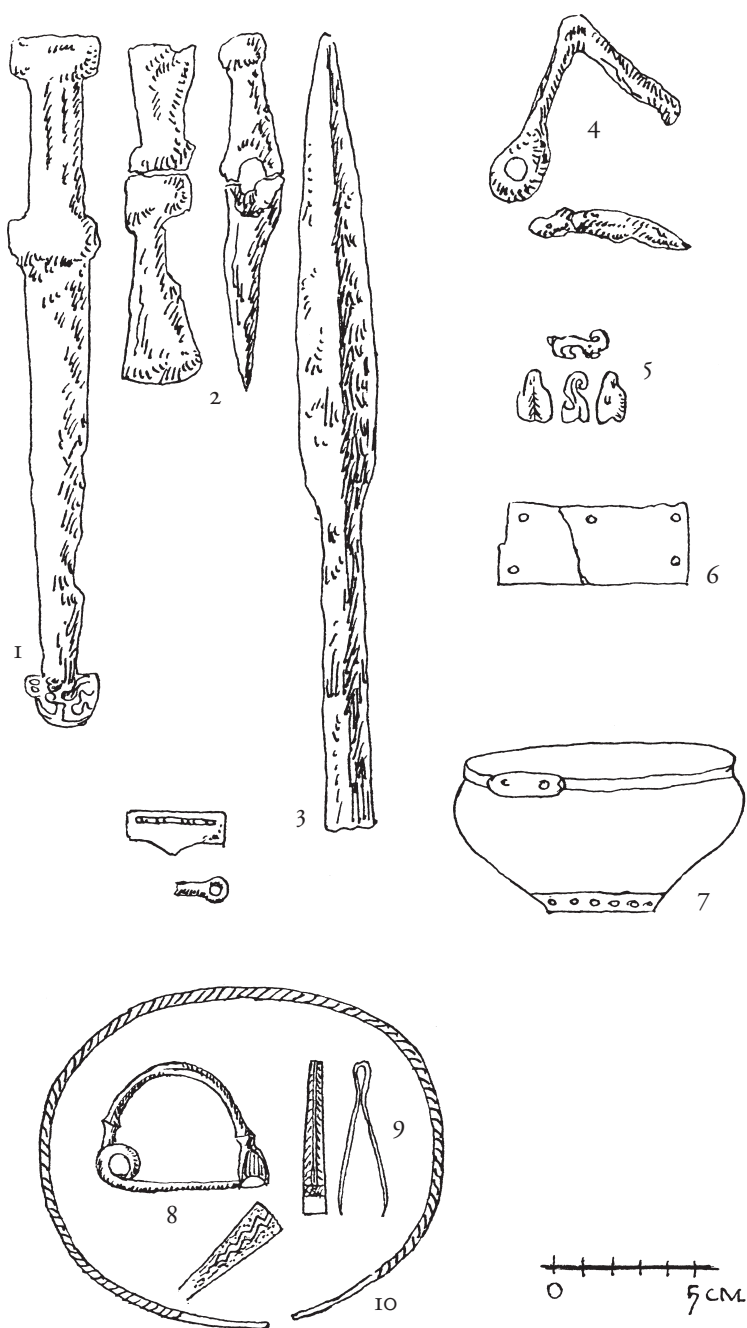


Figure 8



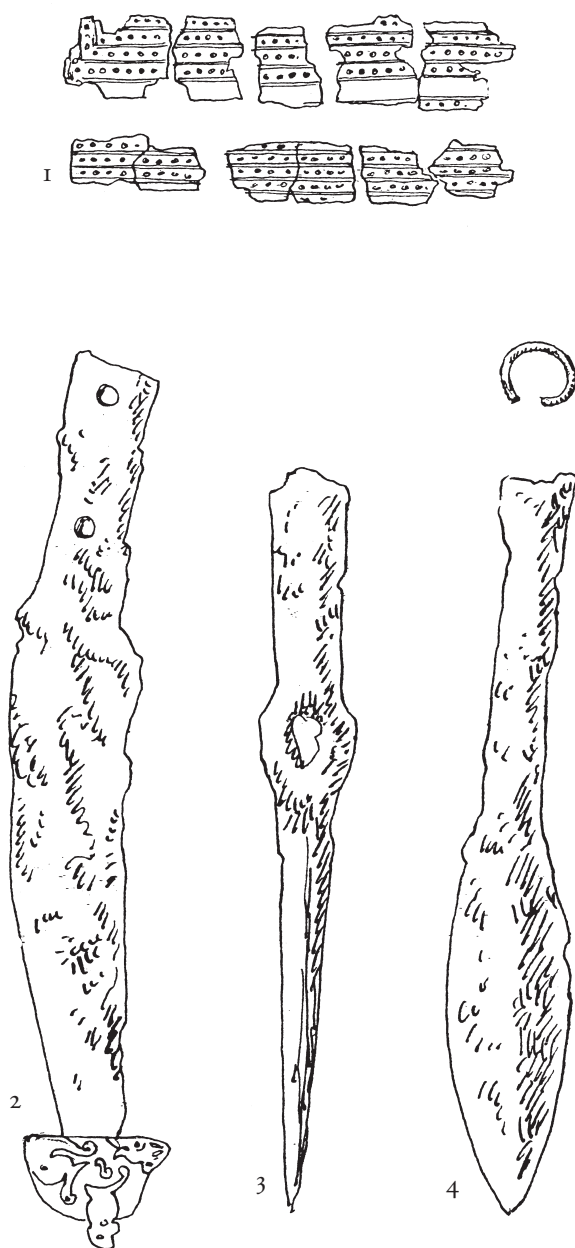


Figure 9

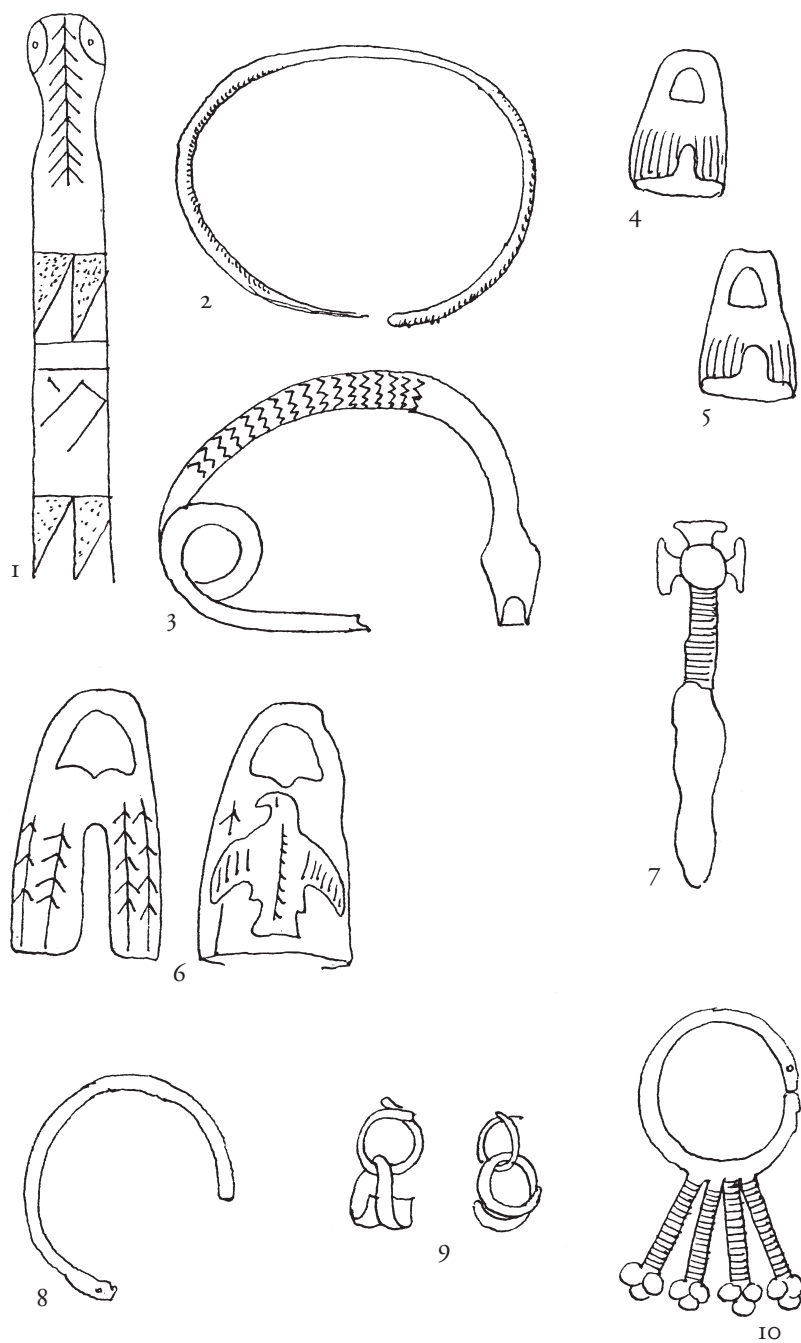


Figure 10

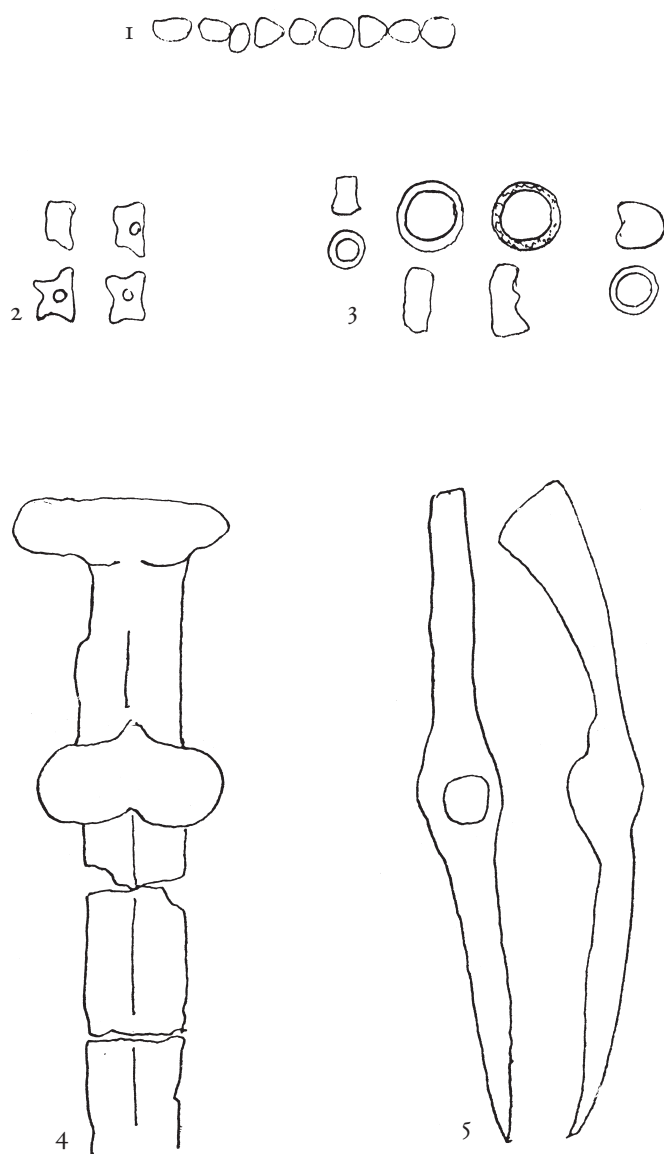


Figure 11

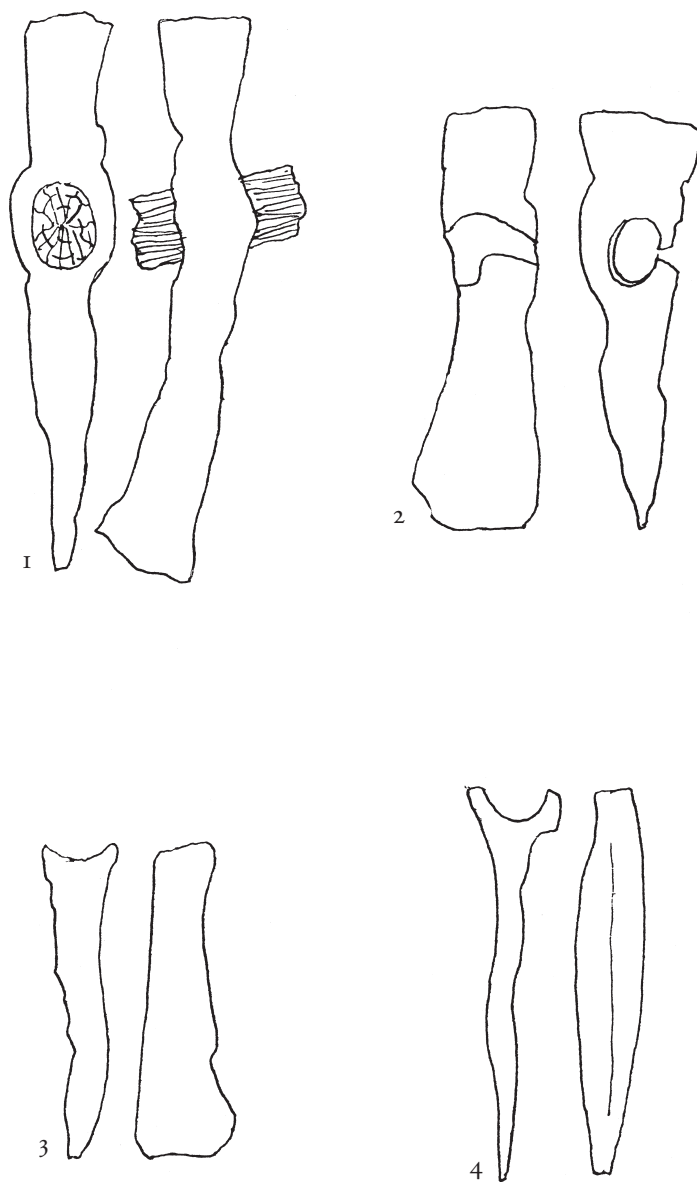


Figure 12

# A Fragment of an Old Peshitta Manuscript to the New Testament Discovered in Japan

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I was recently shown by an editor of a Japanese Christian weekly a fragment of the famous manuscript Syr. sin. 5 of the library of St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai. The fragment had been acquired by Mr N. Yabuuchi of Japan, and is reported to have belonged to a private library of Keisuke Ootori (1832–1911). Ootori, who grew up as a samurai, would make substantial contributions to the modernisation and westernisation of Japan. With valuable expert assistance of Dr S. P. Brock of Oxford, the manuscript consisting of seven leaves, has been identified as a hitherto missing part of the above-mentioned Sinai manuscript, which was auctioned in 1922 by a Leipzig antiquities dealer, K. W. Hiersemann, as lot 36 for DM 35,000.<sup>1</sup> One of the photos attached to the catalogue of the auction is identical with one of the seven leaves, and an explanatory slip attached to one of the leaves reads: "Nr. 36. *Novum Testamentum syriace*. Bruchstück e. syr. Pgmths d. 7. Jhts. enth. Röm. 6,9–11,4. 7 Bll.", to wit, No. 36, Syriac New Testament. A fragment of a Syriac parchment of the seventh century, containing Romans 6.9–11.4. 7 leaves. This is almost identical with the text in the catalogue at Nr. 36. From the preface to the catalogue we see that A. Baum-

<sup>1</sup> See K.W. Hiersemann, Katalog 500, *Orientalische Manuscripte: arabische, syrische, griechische, armenische, persische Handschriften des 7.-18. Jahrhunderts: meist theologischen, vorzüglich kirchen- und literaturgeschichtlichen Inhalts von hoher Bedeutung, z. gr. T. inedita und unica* (Leipzig, 1922).

stark's assistance had been sought in compiling the catalogue and dating the manuscripts put on sale. How on earth this fragment came to form part of Ootori's private library is a mystery.

The older parts of the manuscript are dated to the sixth century A.D., and the manuscript is generally agreed to be one of the oldest and most important witnesses to the Peshitta New Testament. The manuscript was studied in situ by A. Juckel in 1986 in connection with the ongoing project of the Institut für textkritische Forschung des Neuen Testaments of the University of Münster. In vol. 2 of B. Aland and A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* (Berlin / New York, 1991)<sup>2</sup> they have published Paul's Epistle to the Romans and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. For the Epistle to the Romans the manuscript which was available to them started at 11.22. The newly discovered fragment has thus reduced the lacuna of this important manuscript to much less than half of Paul's letter to the Romans.

Hereunder I note the variant readings offered by this fragment as compared with the Peshitta text as presented in the Aland-Juckel edition, which is said to be based on an equally important British Library manuscript (P<sub>4</sub> in A-J) dated by W. Wright to the fifth/sixth century. Among the witnesses collated by the editors of the Münster Syriac New Testament, twelve contain Paul's letter to the Romans in toto or in part: P<sub>2</sub>, P<sub>4</sub>, P<sub>10</sub>, P<sub>11</sub>, P<sub>12</sub>, P<sub>13</sub>, P<sub>14</sub>, P<sub>15</sub>, P<sub>17</sub>, P<sub>18</sub>, P<sub>19</sub>, P<sub>20</sub>.

First the reading in P<sub>4</sub> followed by that of the new fragment (P<sub>2</sub>) set off by a square bracket, ].<sup>3</sup>

6.16, 19, 8.4, 10, 10.3,4,5,6 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] ܠܗܘܠܐ, but 6.18, 20 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] = P<sub>2</sub>.

6.19 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] ܠܗܘܠܐ

6.20 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] = P<sub>2</sub><sup>4</sup>

7.7 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] ܠܗܘܠܐ

7.8 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] ܠܗܘܠܐ

7.14 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] ܠܗܘܠܐ<sup>5</sup>

7.15 ܠܗܘܠܐ ] ܠܗܘܠܐ but later in the verse = P<sub>4</sub>

<sup>2</sup> Referred to as A-J in this article.

<sup>3</sup> I have also included orthographical variations.

<sup>4</sup> In A-J the seyma has been inadvertently omitted.

<sup>5</sup> The longer form of the pronoun is known to be typical of older manuscripts: Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (1898, Leipzig), §63.

- 7.16 ܥܬܬܐ ܥܬܬܐ ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ ܥܬܬܐ  
 7.24 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ  
 8.3, 7 ܥܬܬܐ, but later defectively spelled  
 8.4 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ  
 8.9 ܥܬܬܐ ... ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ ... ܥܬܬܐ, so BFBS<sup>6</sup> and 9 MSS, and A-J supported only by one MS (P4); Gk ἐν πνεύματι<sup>7</sup>  
 8.9 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ, unique reading<sup>8</sup>  
 8.12 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ  
 8.13bis ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ  
 8.15 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ  
 8.22 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ  
 8.24 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ so BFBS; no P variant mentioned in the apparatus of A-J.  
 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ so BFBS; no P variant mentioned in the apparatus of A-J  
 8.25 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ unique; also Cyrus of Edessa (6th century)  
 8.26 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ  
 8.32 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ = Harklean  
 8.35 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ so BFBS and 9 MSS, A-J supported only by P4 and 2 citations; Gk ἡμᾶς<sup>9</sup>  
 8.35 ܥܬܬܐ ] ܥܬܬܐ so BFBS and 9 MSS, and A-J supported only by one MS (P4) and Eusebius 2.16<sup>10</sup> (and pace A-J also with Alaf<sup>11</sup>)

<sup>6</sup> *The New Testament in Syriac* as published by the British and Foreign Bible Society (London, 1920).

<sup>7</sup> Aland-Juckel (1991:54) maintain that the unique P4 reading with a Dalath is more idiomatic Syriac. In our view, the syntagm with an enclitic preposition Beth here is equally idiomatic. The translator was apparently happy with such, as shown by the contrastive ܥܬܬܐ attested by *all* the witnesses (ἐν σαρκί) in vs. 8.

<sup>8</sup> The reading in P2 accords with Kutý's finding, namely the particle ܥܬܬܐ tends to occupy the third slot in a conditional clause introduced by ܥܬܬܐ when the word preceding ܥܬܬܐ is a monosyllabic personal pronoun or the indefinite ܥܬܬܐ: R. Kutý, "The position of the particle *dên* in New Testament Syriac," *ANES* 38 (2001) 186-99, esp. 194f. For our purpose, note especially one of the examples cited by Kutý, Jn 11.10 ܥܬܬܐ ܥܬܬܐ ܥܬܬܐ.

<sup>9</sup> In the entire passage where the first person plural forms predominate, the singular form of the majority Syriac witnesses, including P2, seems to represent a *lectio difficilior*, hence *melior* (?).

<sup>10</sup> W. Cureton, *History of the Martyrs in Palestine by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea* (ed. and tr. W. C., London 1861). A-J (1991, p. 55) suggest a possible scribal error in P4.

<sup>11</sup> The prosthetic Alaf for *r* is fairly common in old manuscripts (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, §51).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, §4.

- 8.35 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ<sup>12</sup>  
 8.36 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ; BSFS ܡܠܟܐ; A-J mention no P variant.  
 8.37 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ, so BFBS and 9 MSS, and A-J supported only by two MS (P4 and 19), Euseb and a few other citations; ḡμῶς  
 8.39 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ  
 9.1 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ  
 9.3 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ, so BSFS; A-J mention only P4 as their support; all citations have the Alaf.  
 9.7 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ, = P19, P20  
 9.7 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ, unique  
 9.18 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ, so BFBS and 9 MSS, and A-J supported only by P4<sup>13</sup>  
 9.26 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ so Harclean, P13,14,15,17<sup>14</sup>  
 9.27 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ, elsewhere also without Alaf  
 9.30 ܡܠܟܐ (primo)] ܡܠܟܐ, so BSFS  
 9.31 ܡܠܟܐ (secundo)] ܡܠܟܐ  
 10.4 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ, so BFBS and 9 MSS, Harclean, and all citations; A-J supported only by P4  
 10.8 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ  
 10.19 ܡܠܟܐ ] ܡܠܟܐ

### Some General Observations

The choice of P4 as the base Peshitta text by Aland-Juckel for Romans and 1Corinthians is said to be due to its completeness and antiquity.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, they rightly stress the striking, basic uniformity of the ancient witnesses to the Peshitta New Testament, and are not therefore able to draw up a stemma of manuscripts or find indications that certain manuscripts have been subjected to a conscious, systematic revision or

<sup>13</sup> A-J (1991, p. 55), referring to Nöldeke (*op. cit.*, §221) would interpret the particle ܡܠܟܐ as a focussing particle: "Betonung des freien Willensentscheidenden Gottes," for which, however, we would expect the particle positioned before ܡܠܟܐ. The presence of the enclitic particle in the majority of the witnesses is not indicative of their greater proximity to the Greek text, but simply a grammatical constraint to which Syriac is subject, although the use of such an enclitic third person pronoun as subject-marker is not absolutely compulsory.

<sup>14</sup> The reading with the particle Lamadh could have been influenced by the Peshitta text at Ho 2.1, from which our text is a citation.

<sup>15</sup> Aland-Juckel 1991, p.47.

<sup>16</sup> Aland-Juckel 1991, pp. 50–52.



recension.<sup>16</sup> This would mean that all the manuscripts, excepting obvious scribal errors, can claim an equal degree of originality.<sup>17</sup> The important future task of the Peshitta New Testament textual criticism is to evaluate genuine, mutual variations among the extant witnesses, and reconstruct the earliest form recoverable of the text. Aland and Juckel apparently took the view that one is not yet in a position to undertake such a task, and have provided us instead with a valuable inventory of the data essential for such a future project and presented them in a convenient and highly helpful format.

In this context I would state that, without having studied the rest of the Syr. sin. 5, the seven new leaves contain not a single scribal error. In some footnotes I have also referred to grammatical and/or orthographical features generally known to be typical of old Syriac manuscripts: the long pronoun ܐܢܝܢܐ, the prosthetic Alaf in ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ.

Aland and Juckel further underline the factor of “Syriazismen” as an important index in the evaluation of manuscripts in terms of antiquity and textual quality.<sup>18</sup> What constitute Syriazismen, namely linguistic features which can be regarded as representative of idiomatic Syriac free from mechanical or formal representation of the underlying Greek feature can be a moot question, given the fact that we do not know yet enough what constitutes genuine, authentic or idiomatic Classical Syriac.

The use or non-use of ligature as in a case like ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ vs. ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ “I write” seems at times to be dictated by the space available on a given line. Thus at 7.15 ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ ends the line, so that there is hardly any more space for an extra Alaf and a space between the two constituent words, but later in the verse ܐܠܐܢܐ ends a line and the next line begins with ܐܠܐܢܐ. Similarly at 7.17, 19, 20, 25, 8.22. However, not every relevant case can be explained on purely mechanical grounds. So at 9.1 the scribe could have easily spelled out ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ, which he has done at 6.19, though at the beginning of a line. At 8.26 ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ does stand at the end of a line, but at 8.28 the same phrase begins the line concerned. Consider also ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ at 8.24 at the head of a line. Similar considerations apply to 8.3, 7 ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ ], but later spelled defectively, apparently due to the lack of space, whereas at 8.10, 11 there is ample space, though spelled defectively.

The choice between the long ܐܠܐܢܐܢܐ and the short ܐܠܐܢܐ is not consistent in our manuscript: at 8.23 we find the short variety twice at the head of a line each time.

<sup>17</sup> Aland-Juckel 1991, p. 51, “.. in einem Spektrum gleichgewichtiger Zeugen.”

<sup>18</sup> Aland-Juckel 1991, pp. 52ff.

# The Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh: A Review Essay

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A recent book by a scholar with a background in Classics described the state of Mesopotamian literature in bleak terms indeed: 'All-round commentaries on literary texts, such as we are used to for classical authors, scarcely exist. Nor do word indexes and concordances. In many cases there are no proper critical editions'.<sup>1</sup> On the 10<sup>th</sup> July 2003 this regrettable state of affairs experienced an epochal uplift, wrought by the publication of Professor Andrew George's new, and much-awaited, edition of the Epic of Gilgamesh. The reward of a massive endeavour of sixteen years, this edition is a model of all that an edition of a Mesopotamian literary work should be. Built on a foundation of painstaking and substantial textual reconstruction, it offers detailed philological annotation, extensive introduction, and nuanced and erudite exegesis. It is already establishing itself as one of the classic works in the history of Akkadian philology, and will be consulted, enjoyed, learned from, and appreciated for decades to come. It emblazons and enhances the author's reputation as a leader in his field, and reflects splendidly on Oxford University Press.

The work is divided into two volumes. The first of these opens with an introduction of over 150 pages, with sections discussing the epic's literary history, the history of the name 'Gilgamesh', traditions about the figure of Gilgamesh, and traditions about other characters, including: Enkidu (Gilgamesh's friend and comrade); Humbaba (foe, and guardian of the Cedar Forest); Ninsun (Gilgamesh's divine mother); Šamhat (the prostitute who humanises Enkidu); Šiduri (the divine ale wife who tells Gilgamesh how to get

<sup>1</sup> West 1997, p. xi.

to Ūta-napišti); Ur-šanābi (the boatman); Ūta-napišti (the Flood hero). After the introduction there follow a second part, taken up with edition and discussion of older versions of the epic (200+ pages), and a third, devoted to the Standard Babylonian version (c. 360 pages).

The Standard Babylonian version of *Gilgameš*, in twelve tablets, is the best-attested version, and that with which readers are likely to be most familiar. George gives it its own detailed introduction, which discusses the manuscripts available for each tablet, scribal habits, textual transmission, language and orthography. He then devotes a further eighty pages to detailed exegesis. After this, there ensues the edition of the text, with transliterations and translations on facing pages, *Loeb*-style, and an *apparatus criticus* in the footnotes.

The second volume opens with an edition (including *Partitur* transliteration and translation) of the Sumerian text<sup>2</sup> which, after being translated into Akkadian, became the XII tablet of Standard Babylonian *Gilgameš*. Next appear 128 pages of critical and philological notes, tablet by tablet and line by line, to the edition of the Standard Babylonian version. The bibliography and indices follow. The volume concludes with hand copies of all the manuscripts of Akkadian *Gilgameš* of all periods available to the scholarly community at the time of going to press.

The division into volumes was clearly made with the reader's needs in mind. It enables one to view the transliteration, translation, and cuneiform copy or philological commentary simultaneously, without having to flick back and forth.

Readers need not be daunted by the sheer size of the work. Throughout, George's prose style is lucid and muscular, and often dryly humorous in an enjoyable sort of way. One can plough through pages of minutiae and marvels, and hardly notice the effort. The same pleasant readability also, of course, characterises the translation of the epic itself.

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The first volume's opening words are 'this book is fundamentally a work of textual reconstruction'. This is because, before they can be understood, translated, and discussed, the works of Mesopotamian literature have to be pieced together from fragments of clay tablets. This involves long hours of concentrated toil in museums, both identifying fragments as belonging to a

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* lines 172-end of *Gilgameš and the Netherworld*.

particular work, and then deciphering them. The text of *Gilgameš* is still not complete, but George's edition has truly made strides in reconstructing it.

The last major edition was that of Reginald Campbell Thompson, published in 1930. Subsequent decades witnessed the accumulation of many more fragments (specifically, the number rose from 112 to 218), either brought to light in new excavations or discovered in museums. Sometimes the new finds contained lines of text otherwise lost, sometimes they explained obscurities in the tablets available to Campbell Thompson; all of them contributed to rendering his composite cuneiform text outdated.<sup>3</sup> For the Standard Babylonian version of the epic, the increase in the number of fragments between 1930 and 2003 was from 108 to 184. Much more text has, then, become available, including, famously, the first line.<sup>4</sup> Older versions have benefited too. For example, the Old Babylonian epic has gained two exciting new manuscripts currently in Norway, one of which mentions Ebla (see pp. 225-6).

Apart from the matter of quantity, there is the issue of presentation. George has not only studied and utilised all the available fragments, but also published them in cuneiform copies, mostly in his own hand, all but one made from the original tablets. In their totality they occupy 147 pages. Publication of all the known manuscripts of *Gilgameš* within the same two covers has not been attempted for well over a century, and George's copies, based on careful examination and collation of tablets and old photographs, represent a massive contribution of undiminishing worth.

In keeping with his foundational interest in textual reconstruction, George has also set new standards for textual commentary in Assyriology, devoting almost forty pages to a detailed description and discussion of the manuscripts available for reconstructing each tablet of the Standard Babylonian version of the epic.

A compact edition (without commentary, with glossary) of the Standard Babylonian epic was published seven years ago by Simo Parpola.<sup>5</sup> This was an important achievement, a very useful teaching tool, and a credit to the Helsinki project. Readers who have used it will want to know how extensively the text in George's edition differs from it. The answer is that the differences are significant. As Parpola himself saw,<sup>6</sup> with George's work at an

<sup>3</sup> The transliteration and translation became obsolete more quickly, owing to advances in Akkadian philology.

<sup>4</sup> The tablet which has least benefited from new finds is IX.

<sup>5</sup> Parpola 1997.

<sup>6</sup> Parpola 1997, p. ix.

advanced stage of preparation there would have been little sense in making a massive investment in comprehensiveness. In consequence, Parpola's text is weak on unpublished material and collations, and George not infrequently offers improved readings, resulting from new manuscripts or collations. Sometimes, it emerges that Parpola's edition has conflated variant lines on different manuscripts. Parpola's edition now needs to be used cautiously.

However, since George's edition does not include a connected cuneiform text such as Campbell Thompson and Parpola offered (and students thrive on), it would be highly desirable, if copyright-related issues can be worked out, for Parpola to issue a second, corrected, printing of his compact edition, incorporating George's readings. Another consideration in favour of this is the high cost of George's edition, which puts it beyond the reach of students.

If the work of textual reconstruction has been massive and foundational, it should not be permitted to overshadow the introduction to the first volume and to the Standard Babylonian epic. These are works of profound scholarship and great power of synthesis, in which the discussion is always inlaid with learning, ideas, and linguistic insights of all types and sizes. The exegesis, which is very strong intertextually, highlights *Gilgameš's* thoughtfulness, density and humanity. One often hears that *Gilgameš* is a great work of world literature, but it is good that somebody should give a detailed illustration of why.

We do not propose here to list the introductions' achievements, or to give a detailed assessment of their importance. Citations in scholarly works for decades to come will see to that. Rather, we shall limit ourselves to whetting the reader's appetite, by giving a small, illustrative sample of the riches which the text boasts on every page: a suggestion as to why tablet XII was added to the epic (pp. 52 ff.); a discussion of the (non-)survival of Mesopotamian culture after the extinction of cuneiform (pp. 57 ff.); a section on 'Gilgameš in exorcistic rituals' (pp. 132 ff.); evidence for Humbaba in Qumran Aramaic texts (p. 147); a list of variants between manuscripts (pp. 423 ff.); the observation of a similarity between the actions of Gilgameš's mother and the ritual series *bīt rimki* 'House of Ablution' (p. 459); thought-provoking remarks such as 'the importance of Gilgameš's [oppressiveness] to the poem's narrative is that it acts as a mechanism for the creation of Enkidu' (p. 449); a detailed enquiry into the nature of the 'Path of the Sun' (pp. 494 ff). No higher compliment can be paid to the introductions than to say that, though disagreements are bound to arise, every reader will be bound to learn a lot from them.

Many of the philological notes will also be cited as scholarly achievements in their own right. For instance, see the grammatical rule in the note to I 13 (complementing the addition to paradigm 4 in GAG p. 53\*, where the point is made for Middle and Neo-Assyrian): that nouns with monosyllabic stems from finally weak roots have bisyllabic construct states before personal suffixes (thus *nībūšu*, *nībāšu*, not *nībšu*).

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We now propose to make some comments on philological matters arising from both the notes to the Standard Babylonian version in the second volume, and the discussion in the first.<sup>7</sup>

I III and 176: *mašqâ i-tep-pir*. The verb is difficult, and replaced on one manuscript in line 176 by *išatti* ‘drinks’. It is worth considering whether, in the mind of the scribe who effected the substitution, it could have been a form of *epēru*. In his note to the difficult *i-pi-ram-ma* of XI 149, George suggests, attractively, that it might mean ‘to search for food’ (see below *ad loc.*). In I 176, then, it might have been interpreted as meaning ‘to go and get a drink’, and substituted with a simpler expression.<sup>8</sup>

I 259: EN-*šá*. This writing (a variant of *mārīšu* ‘his son’) is said to be ‘an error arising from a confusion of Akkadian *māru*, ‘son’, with Aramaic *marā*, ‘lord’ (used logographically, EN normally stands for *bēlu* ‘lord’ in Akkadian texts). But is this necessarily ‘confusion’ (thus also p. 442), or might it be an application of the rebus principle, that a logogram may be used to represent homophonic words (*e.g.*, with varying degrees of frequency: MURUB<sub>4</sub> for both *qablu* ‘middle’ and *qablu* ‘battle’; URU<sub>4</sub> for both *erēšu* ‘wish’ and *erēšu* ‘cultivate’; both KAR and SUR for both *eṭēru* ‘save’ and *eṭēru* ‘pay’; both DU<sub>10</sub>.(GA) and MUN for both *ṭabtu* ‘salt’ and *ṭābtu* ‘goodness’; *etc.*)?<sup>9</sup> Either way, the writing suggests that the scribe regarded *marā* as a normal reading of EN, which is extremely interesting, and tantalising: how often does a hitherto unsuspected *marā* lurk behind EN?

II 36–7: [singular and plural logographic writings of *ilu*]. This note should cross-refer to I 78.

<sup>7</sup> Note one trivial point pertaining to the older material: George (p. 258) refers to the noun *iltānum* < *ištānum* to document the change š + dental > l + dental in Old Babylonian. Another, supporting, instance is cited by Reiner (1973:35 n.1): *al-ta-ba-ak-ku* for *aštapak+ku(m)*.

<sup>8</sup> Admittedly this would not fit the context of I 253 / II 105 or explain the spelling with -de- in the Middle Babylonian version (p. 298:28, see note p. 303), so however it was interpreted by the scribe who wrote *išatti* at I 176 (manuscript P), the question of what the form meant originally still stands.

<sup>9</sup> For evidence favouring the latter possibility, see now Luukko 2004, p. 178–9.

III 15: *nillik*. In the note to II 248 this form is called ‘a clear example of a cohortative without ī’. Note however that the previous word (*ib-ri* ‘my friend’) ends in /i/, and that there could be crasis. For an unequivocal example of a cohortative without ī see Erra I 50.<sup>10</sup>

IV 92: [Gilgames’s posture]. See Zgoll (2002:95), who discovers parallels in the inscriptions of Aššurbanipal and the Ugaritic myth of Keret.

IV 214: *šakkanakkūšu unaššaqu šēpišu*. George remarks on ‘the alliteration that attends the kisses’. Compare von Soden’s proposal to derive the verb *našāqu* ‘to kiss’ from an onomatopoeic sound /šuq/ (the sound of a kiss), mirroring *napāhu* ‘to blow’ from /puh/ (the sound of a puff), etc.<sup>11</sup>

VI 50: *izzaz*. George interprets the present tense of *izzaz* (var. *ašib*) as present continuous. Note however that in Old Babylonian and in Assyrian the verb *uzzuzu* does not have a stative,<sup>12</sup> for which the present is used suppletively. Given that here a variant actually has a stative (albeit of a different verb), suppletion for the stative seems at least as likely an explanation of the tense of *izzaz*.

VI 78: *e-lu mi-ih-ha*. The line is difficult. George interprets *e-lu* as a participle. Since logical objects of participles are normally in the genitive case, it is unexpected that *mi-ih-ha* end in -a (one expects -i). Is this simply a ‘wrong’ ending (thus p. 440 *sub j*), or should it be added to the small number of instances collected by Von Soden in which a participle takes an accusative object?<sup>13</sup> The latter possibility is perhaps lent plausibility by the fact that there is no other unequivocal instance in which a genitive singular ends in /a/. Of the four other writings cited as examples of this (p. 440, *sub j*), three are possible instances of CV-CV = CVC writings (George gives further examples of this on p. 439, *sub g*). Thus the words could have been pronounced with zero ending not -a: IX 159 *pa-la-sa*: perhaps /palās/; IX 174 *da-ga-la*: perhaps /dagāl/; XII 18 *til-pa-na*: perhaps /tilpān/. The fourth case (VI 171: *mu-ṭap-pi-lā* ‘detractor’) is an inferior variant of *mut-tab-bi-lā-ti* ‘slave-girls’. George observes in a note *ad loc.* that the unexpected writing may have crept into line 171 because of its occurrence in line 177 (where the -a ending is grammatically ‘correct’), and if this were the case the scribe need only be blamed for *aberratio oculi*, not faulty grammar.<sup>14</sup> Taken singly,

<sup>10</sup> Cited by Borger 1996:22 (*apud* A I 125), with various other additions to GAG §81g.

<sup>11</sup> GAG §102b.

<sup>12</sup> GAG 107e, Parpola 1983:34.

<sup>13</sup> GAG §148c\*.

<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the words involved are so similar that the aberrant writing in line 171 could perhaps be transliterated *mu-tap-pi-la-<ti>*, supposing that the scribe intended to write *muttabbilāti* but was led astray by the nearby *muṭabbila*. <b> and <p> get confused in both Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts (see Luukko 2004: 72-3 and George’s note to I 112 // 176).

it cannot be proven in any of these instances that the -a ending was not a grammatical mistake for -i, but the fact that all the cases potentially lend themselves to analyses which explain the -a away is suggestive.

VI 181 *utūl-ma Enkidu šunata inaṭṭal*. According to Zgoll (2002:82) Enkidu is incubating a dream, and the phrase used specifically indicates that he lay down *in order to* have a dream. Thus it becomes clear why in the preceding line it is spelled out that the men are ‘asleep on their beds for the night’ (the information might otherwise seem superfluous): a contrast is being drawn between the young men, who enjoy easy, carefree sleep, and Enkidu, who is busying himself for an encounter of moment and magnitude, the same which will portend his own doom and ignite the tragic element in the story.

XI 7: *kīkī balāṭa teš’û*. George suggests that *balāṭa šē’û*, used of Ūtanapišti’s ‘attainment’ of eternal life, is here used in contrast to *balāṭa bu”û*, used of Gilgamesh’s ‘vain quest’ for eternal life, and concludes that *šē’û* ‘thus has the nuance of to seek successfully’. Elsewhere (note to XI 149/152) he suggests that a general feature of Akkadian semantics is in play (‘seeking and finding [are] activities often conveyed by the same verb’), and relies on this to suggest that *epēru* ‘to provide food’ might also mean ‘to seek food’, *i.e.* ‘forage’.

The general point is interesting and insightful. On the other hand, the particular reason suggested why *šē’û* might be used in contrast to *bu”û* is less persuasive. It is clear that *šē’û* does not always mean ‘to seek successfully’ (e.g. *šāriqī niše”e-ma lā nimmar* ‘we are looking for the thieves but cannot find them’),<sup>15</sup> and if the relatedness of finding and seeking is a sufficiently general feature of Akkadian that it may (tentatively) be used to posit new meanings for verbs, one wonders why *bu”û* could not also have the same nuance. Indeed, there is some evidence that it could,<sup>16</sup> and the expression *balāṭa bu”û* ‘to search for life’ is paired with the idea of finding (*watû*) in

<sup>15</sup> *Babyloniaca* 6 191 No. 7: 19, cited *CAD* Š 355b. Perhaps it is also worth drawing attention to an expression in line 193 of Sargon’s 8<sup>th</sup> Campaign (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 3) which is reminiscent of the line in *Gilgameš*: *ālānišunu umašerû-ma ina nābali ašar šamāmi madbareš innabtû-ma napšata iše”û* ‘they abandoned their cities and fled onto the plain, ...-ing (*šē’û*) life’. *Prima facie* ‘seeking’ seems a better translation of *šē’û* than ‘finding’ here, and the passage also recalls other inscriptions, in which it is said of rebels that *ana šūzub napšatišunu šadû maršu iššabtû* ‘in order to save their lives they sought a rugged mountain’, where the purpose clause emphasises the intention not the result (seeking to save life, not actually saving it), because the rebels are usually pursued, caught and dispatched. The evidence of Sargon’s 8<sup>th</sup> campaign for our passage is fragile, however, so I do not press it.

<sup>16</sup> For a specific example of successful seeking, see perhaps *bāba ša qallati uba”û u tēmēja ana muhbi tašemme”ā* ‘I will (successfully) search for his slave girl’s record(?) and you (pl.) will hear my report on it’ (Neo-Babylonian letter (*YOS* 3 117:22), cited *CAD* B 362a + Q 61a).



the same tablet of *Gilgameš* (XI 207-8), when it still looks as if Gilgameš's search might be successful: 'but now, who will bring the gods to assembly for you, so you can find (*watû*) the life (*balāṭa*) you search for (*bu"û*)?' (*balāṭa ša tuba"û tuttâ atta*). It is, then, unlikely that the use of *še'û* for *Ūtanapišti* and *bu"û* for Gilgameš reflects a semantic opposition between successful seeking and vain quest (cf. also Gilgameš's epithet at I 41). Perhaps the difference is rather that *bu"û* places more emphasis on the act of searching (whether successful or not) than *še'û*. This would be in keeping with the nature of Gilgameš's enterprise, which is intense in emotions and heroic in deed, and the overall tenor of the epic.

XI 46: *ina še-er*. The phrase is usually written with the genitive ending (*ina šēri*) and zero ending is, as George comments, surprising. Perhaps the sign ER stands for /*rel*/, i.e. VC for CV (for examples of this see p. 350).

XI 102/3: 'The present tense describes circumstance attending an action in the past' (see also note to I 197, 'presents of circumstance'). The idea of a present of attendant circumstance goes back to a learned footnote of Jacobsen's.<sup>17</sup> Note that a few pages before introducing that idea into Akkadian studies Jacobsen cites Jespersen's *Philosophy of Grammar*: "The Aorist carries the narrative on, it tells us what happened next, while the imperfect lingers over the conditions as they were at that time and expatiates on them with more or less prolixity".<sup>18</sup> Jacobsen's view was, then, informed by more general linguistic theory.

Today, linguistic theory has some useful terms relating to past narrative at its disposal which could perhaps profitably be introduced into studies of Akkadian: 'foreground' and 'background'. The classic study is that of P. J. Hopper.<sup>19</sup> 'Foreground' comprises the main events, 'background' supportive material which does not narrate main events, but events which attend them. Languages tend to treat the two differently. Hopper's *exemplum princeps* is Swahili, in which verbal morphology varies from foreground (*ka-*) to background (*ki-*); he notes that Russian and French similarly uphold the distinction in the verb (perfective/imperfective and *passé simple/imparfait* respectively). George's translations of present tenses as English -ing forms capture this nuance well for Akkadian.<sup>20</sup>

XI 249: *ša ina ahiša tattallaku ahiša zumme*. If the relative *ša* referred back to *nēberu* in the preceding line, it would be unexpected that the possessive

<sup>17</sup> Jacobsen 1946, p. 135, n. 12: 'the present tense is often used in Sumerian — as it is in Akkadian — to express attendant circumstance'.

<sup>18</sup> Jespersen 1924, p. 276 cited Jacobsen 1946 p. 131, n 7.

<sup>19</sup> Hopper 1979. A massive literature has arisen, but this is not the place for detail.

<sup>20</sup> For a recent study of foregrounding and backgrounding in a Semitic language (Colloquial Arabic) see Dahlgren 1998.

pronoun (-ša in: *abiša*, *ahša*) should be feminine. One could perhaps explain this by adopting another interpretation, and translating ‘the (female) one at whose side (i.e. in whose company) you walked, be deprived of her side (i.e. company)’, and reading the line as an aetiology for why the ferryman does not have a female companion.

XI 257: *udduṣ parsīgu*, var. *udduṣū parsīgī*. The variants are cited on p. 427 (sub h) as differing in number. If however the orthographic principle that CV-CV = CVC were operative here (George lists examples of it on p. 439, sub g), the writing *ud-du-šu par-si-gi* could represent /udduṣ parsīg/. The phrase would then be singular on both manuscripts, and *parsīg* would have zero ending (George entertains this as a possibility for a word in another line in the note to II 185, and two clear examples are given on p. 442 sub x).

XI 263: *malēšu ina mē kīma elli imsi*. The phrase *kīma elli* is problematic. George reviews previous explanations (‘like an *ellu*-priest’, ‘like snow’, ‘as if with clear oil’) finds them wanting, and suggests instead that *kīma* in Akkadian is used to construct the ‘superlative’. In support he cites *Maqlû* III 70: *ētelil kīma namru*, translating ‘I have become as pure as pure can be’, and argues that Sumerian has a similar construction with *gim* (Gudea A xiv 5–6, etc. and Samsuiluna in *RIME* 4, p. 376, 23–4//31–2). The suggestion is welcome and, on its own terms, attractive.

There are, however, three caveats. First, the supposition that *elli* can stand elliptically for *šamni elli*, which underlay Jacobsen’s translation ‘as if with clear oil’, finds support in the lexical text Hh xxiv 15: *l.giš el-lu* (cf. 17: *l.[gi]š.dùg.ga ṭa-a-bu*) (see *MSL* xi, p. 79). Secondly, the adjective *namru* ‘bright’ is often applied to sunlight, so the *Maqlû* passage could mean ‘I have become as pure as daylight’, in which case it would no longer corroborate the hypothesis of the new construction. This seems to be how the commentary (*KAR* 94, 44) understood *namru*, for it equated it with *dšá-māš*. The commentary need not be wrong. Third, George observes that the translation ‘like snow’ rests exclusively on the equation of *el-lum* ‘pure’ with *hal-pu-u* ‘frost’ and *ku-uš* ‘winter’ in a lexical list (*Malku* VI 217–8), and that another lexical list also equates *ellum* with *erû* ‘copper’ and *siparru* ‘bronze’, the logic being that all three are bright and shiny. He concludes that ‘the equation of *ellu* with ice and snow in *Malku* need only be to their shining purity’, implying that the equation is artificial and does not reflect real linguistic usage. Note however that *Malku* also equates *šamšu* ‘sun’ with *hurāšu* ‘gold’.<sup>21</sup> Like that between *ellu* and frost, this equation must also be due to

<sup>21</sup> *Malku* V 164: *ša-dš-šu* (i.e. *šamšu*) ‘sun’ = *bu-ra-šu* ‘gold’, cited *CAD* Š i 335b, lexical section.

similarity in appearance, but the use of *šamšu* to mean 'gold' is actually attested.<sup>22</sup> At least in principle, then, we need not doubt the reality of a lexical equivalence because it derives from appearance. Also, if Gilgameš were said to wash in the water 'like frost' this would agree well with the fact that elsewhere (XI 303) a pool is said to be cool, suggesting that Gilgameš specifically sought relief from the heat in it.

Note that, in George's analysis of the Samsuiluna inscription there was difficulty in translating the Sumerian construction with *gim* into Akkadian (he describes the Akkadian as 'a mechanical rendering of a construction that was not completely understood'). This surely suggests that the construction was no longer in use in Akkadian, or it should have been a simple matter to spot the word-for-word equivalence. Even less likely, then, that the construction was understood by the scribes of Standard Babylonian *Gilgameš*.

More generally, if George's interpretation of *kīma* does find favour, does the construction actually have to be superlative or can it just be intensifying — 'very pure' (cf. Edzard's translation of the Gudea passages 'extremely happy')? In modern English, of course, both can be expressed the same way ('this edition is most impressive' = 'this edition is extremely impressive'), and there is not a world of difference between them, but it seems worth getting the nomenclature clear.

XI 314: *nēšu ša qaqqari*. George interprets this phrase, literally 'lion of the earth', as an epithet of a snake and distinguishes it from *nēš qaqqari* ('lion of the earth, i.e.:) chamaeleon'. In the process, he comments that 'in ancient Mesopotamia lions and snakes were more of a kind than one might think'. Note that this point has previously been discussed, with different evidence, by Kirk (1970: 127-9), who draws attention to a Sargonid (third millennium) cylinder seal depicting the Etana myth, on which lions take the place of the snake.<sup>23</sup> Apparently, then, at some point in the history of the Etana story, lions and snakes were swapped.

We now turn to the introduction to the text of the Standard Babylonian Epic. It is said on p. 441 (*ante* u) that 'some Kuyunjik scribes did not baulk at mixing old and late accusative endings, even in adjacent words'. Perhaps it should be noted that disparate endings in adjacent words are not necessarily evidence of total confusion (as the word 'even' implies). It has been suggested that there were instances in which assonance was avoided deliberately, for reasons of euphony.<sup>24</sup> The instances cited on p. 441

<sup>22</sup> *CAD* Š i 338b.

<sup>23</sup> See also the comments by Frankfort 1939:138-9.

<sup>24</sup> Kinnier Wilson 1968.

could thus potentially be part of a greater pattern, and not isolated aberrations.

On p. 439, several unexpected forms are gathered whose collective import is to 'remind us not to place too much faith in the writing of case endings and other final vowels even in the best first-millennium manuscripts'. What is presented, though, is a *worst* case scenario, for some of the forms can be explained as arising through crasis, a phenomenon about which George is exceptionally and innovatively enthusiastic:<sup>25</sup> *ka-ti-im-ti ip-tu* 'he uncovered the hidden' (I 7) could be *ka-ti-im-ti-ip-tu* < \**katimta iptu*. Similarly, *ša-a-di it-ti-šu* '... the hunter, with him...' (I 167), *h[a-rim]-ti i-qab-bu-ú* '(what) the h[ar]lot was speaking' (I 205), and *ku-li-li <iq>-qé-lep-pa-a* (X 313).<sup>26</sup> Thus the forms, which one would expect to end in a 'correct' vowel, could exhibit zero ending rather than a 'wrong' vowel.

On a point of wider interest, the introduction states (p. 437) that 'the conventional spelling of Standard Babylonian is more exactly morpho-graphemic than truly phonetic'<sup>27</sup> and that 'the conventional orthography of Standard Babylonian texts reports an antiquated form of the language that by the late first millennium BC was no longer current'. An example of this is given: writings such as *āš-šá-šu-ma* (for *ana šāšu-ma*) are said to show that 'Standard Babylonian texts were not pronounced in the old-fashioned way' (p. 433). This belief finds its way into several philological notes: the note to V 1 (end of first paragraph) suggests that 'the preposition *ina* before a word beginning with *p* was not necessarily pronounced as a bisyllable. It was often *ip*, perhaps more often than we think'. The note to II 287 cites the evidence of the Graeco-Babyloniaca (late writings of Akkadian in the Greek alphabet) that *m* could be pronounced /w/ and /ʾ/.

The book thus takes a strong stance vis-à-vis the orthographic-morphological interface, and the stance taken is likely to spark debate: an alternative to the 'morpho-graphemic' explanation of many archaising spellings is

<sup>25</sup> See the references in the philological index, p. 964. Note that, excluding the loss of the construct state *Hilfsvokal -i* before a vowel ('keine wirkliche Krasis'), von Soden (*GAG* §17b) only recognises crasis of different vowels (thus involving elision) as occurring in Old Assyrian personal names.

<sup>26</sup> In the last case, the hypothesis of crasis (and elision) is particularly appealing because it removes the need to posit a missing -iq-: *ku-li-li-qé-lep-pa-a* for *kuliliqqeleppā* (cf. George's note *ad loc.*). Note that the same principle might be operative at I 13, where George (note *ad loc.*, bottom) considers emending *šá ki-ma qé-e ni-ip-š[u?]* to *šá ki-ma qé-e <in>-né-ep-š[u?]* 'which is constructed (to be) like a cord': could the writing represent *šá ki-ma qé-e-ni-ip-š[u?]*?

<sup>27</sup> The term 'morpho-graphemic' is defined on p. 428 fn. 3: 'morpho-graphemic renderings... combine etymological and phonological data (e.g. *limqutamma* [vs. *linqutamma*], *šamdāta* [vs. *šandāta*], *ušeribma* [vs. *ušerimma*], *dumqu* [vs. *dunqu*])'. The classic statement is that of Gelb (1970). See also Reiner (1973).

that they are simply archaising, and that the reader was supposed to pronounce words in the old-fashioned way (*damqu* not *dangu*, *ana šāšuma* not *aššāšuma*, etc.). Unless they could be shown to have some special narratological status or effect, writings of the assimilated, vernacular, type would then be ascribed to vernacular parlance creeping into auto-dictation. We have surely not heard the last of the matter. All pronouncements from a scholar of George's calibre need to be taken seriously, and we await developments with interest.

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The climax of tablet XI (which, before tablet XII was added, would have been the climax of the work entire) is well-known: following Ūta-napišti's instructions, Gilgameš obtains the herb of life, and plans to take it home to Uruk to test it before using it himself. *En route*, however, he pauses to take a cooling bathe, leaving the plant on the side of the pool, and a snake bears it off, leaving Gilgameš a mortal with no more prospects of eternal life. This tale can be interpreted as an aetiology of human mortality, and George adheres to this view in his exegesis (e.g. p. 527 f.). This does not, however, exclude a reading which the reviewer has briefly advocated elsewhere,<sup>28</sup> namely that the myth is also an aetiology of why, although the world contains myriad plants with myriad good therapeutic properties, it contains none that gives eternal life.<sup>29</sup> This is, after all, a question which one would expect of a civilisation with sufficient practical-poetic imagination to ask a crying baby why it had not cried when in its mother's womb.<sup>30</sup> The reading proposed, which, it is worth repeating, is not inconsistent with the traditional interpretation, would give *Gilgameš* XI the status of a *negative* aetiol-

<sup>28</sup> Worthington 2003, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> Evidence for the motif of the *šam balāti* has been collected and discussed by Watanabe (1994). The role of the plant in *Gilgameš* XI has also been put under the microscope by Veenker (1981), who argues that it originally had a self-standing story, functioning as an aetiology of how antediluvian kings were able to live longer-than-human lives. George seems nowhere to mention Veenker's article, which is a pity, for it is rich in observations of intertextual echoes and exegetic insight. In the contention that the plant 'does not offer the true boon of immortality which Gilgameš seeks throughout the epic, but merely the sop of rejuvenation' (p. 201) he anticipates George, whose view is that 'the plant is not the secret of 'eternal life' ... but a finite resource for rejuvenation' (p. 525 n. 287). On this last point, the argument about the meditation on the limits of the medical virtues of plants would still stand, if in reduced form, but one might venture to suggest that Veenker and George are unduly reductive of the plant's rejuvenatory properties: could it be cultivated? Would it function indefinitely? If so, for practical purposes it would be as good as a purveyor of 'eternal life'.

<sup>30</sup> Farber 1989, no. 1.

ogy, a little-discussed narrative intent which seems to the reviewer to characterise other works of Mesopotamian literature. This is an apposite place to describe this idea more fully and set it in context, though detailed justification and discussion of how it relates to previous literature are left to future studies.

As with *Gilgameš*, it has been claimed that the *Adapa* myth<sup>31</sup> is an aetiology of human mortality. Again, a more specific aetiological function (which does not exclude others) is plausible: since *Adapa* is the *āšipu* ('conjurer'-magician'-exorcist') *par excellence*, the myth meditates on questions which must have arisen from time to time: if the *āšipu* can cure others, why can he not preserve his own life indefinitely, and why does Ea, the patron god through whom much of his magic is said to work, not grant him eternal life?

Another possible negative aetiology features in the *Anzû* epic.<sup>32</sup> Here, the chief of the gods, who keeps charge of the Tablet of Destinies, goes bathing, and leaves the Tablet of Destinies on the side (the parallel with *Gilgameš* XI is striking, and may reflect Mesopotamian vagueness in respect of intellectual property). *Anzû*, a creature with the head of an eagle and the body of a lion, steals the Tablet of Destinies. The gods eventually find a champion to fight him, but the power of the tablet is such, that he can only be defeated by a ruse devised by the god of wisdom. This story is not only a good and clever story in its own right, but can also be read as a meditation on why, if the fortunes of the universe depend on something as slight as a tablet, it never gets stolen or misused.

A fourth example, which we propose cautiously, is the flood story.<sup>33</sup> This can be read as a reflection on the question why, though the gods are always killing people off in large numbers, surprising ways, and at unexpected times, they never simply wipe them out completely. In the Mesopotamian version of the flood story, that was indeed the original intention, but the god of wisdom, who is also mankind's ally, saved the day (and the human race) by warning *Ūta-napišti*, the Mesopotamian Noah, and getting him to build an ark.

In principle, anything could have an infinite number of negative aetiologies: why do pigs not fly, why does beeswax not taste of date syrup. But the negative aetiologies whose existence we are considering here are not

<sup>31</sup> Most recently edited by Izre'el 2001.

<sup>32</sup> Most recently edited (in minimal form) in the *State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts* series by Annus 2001.

<sup>33</sup> Full story (*Atram-hasīs*): Lambert and Millard 1969; a potted version is contained in *Gilgameš* XI.

trite. Indeed, they meditate, in quite commonsensical terms, on the limits of the Mesopotamian way of explaining the world. A Mesopotamian who (or tradition which) invented a story which reflects on why, if the gods gave us plants to make us live and recover from illness, they do not give us plants to make us recover from all illnesses and old age, and live forever, was thinking about esoteric matters along the same, practical lines, as Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, who at the start of his *Confessions* asked his God 'Why, then, do I invoke you, seeing I am already in you? Or from where can you come into me? For where shall I go, beyond heaven and earth, that from there my God may come to me, who has said 'heaven and earth I fill'?<sup>34</sup> Mesopotamians need hardly be said to have invented systematic theology. But negative aetiologies, if their existence and significance be admitted, bespeak reflection, and constitute an arrow in the Mesopotamian intellectual quiver deserving future scholarly attention.

Another feature of aetiologies in *Gilgameš* and other texts which might reward consideration is the question of what they were understood to signify. To cite an attractive interpretation newly proposed by George (p. 517), the different fates of the birds which Ūta-napišti releases to see if the flood waters are receding could be aetiologies of why certain birds dwell in human settlements, and others in the wild. Once one has identified this as an aetiology, the question arises: was it truly believed that the different fates of the birds in the flood story influenced the behaviour of birds in later times? Or is the aetiology a literary trope? If a leap through time, places, and cultures may be forgiven, in the *Histories* of Herodotus there appear from time to time general statements which moralise about life and the human condition, and sometimes contradict one another. The contradictions are puzzling if one takes them at face value, as expressions of Herodotus' beliefs, but not so if interpreted as *gnōmai* (singular: *gnōmē*), sapiential statements of a general nature which do not necessarily reflect the author's beliefs, but rather 'a storyteller's sense of the shape of his story', and are not supposed to be 'discountenanced by contradiction'.<sup>35</sup> Students of Mesopotamian literature may wish to consider whether the aetiologies therein contained do not sometimes have a gnostic 'flavour'.

Be that as it may, George has done the scholarly community an enormous service in editing *Gilgameš* with so much care, insight and erudition, for the text is now susceptible to manifold linguistic, literary, and cultural

<sup>34</sup> Translation adapted from that of Watts 1631, p. 5 (Chapter ii). The original runs *quo te invoco, cum in te sim? aut unde venias in me? quo enim recedam extra caelum et terram, ut inde in me veniat deus meus, qui dixit: caelum et terram impleo?*

<sup>35</sup> For a succinct and authoritative discussion see Gould 1996, p. 698.

analyses. If *Gilgamesh* has been brought up to date for the twenty-first century, it is beholden on scholars in the twenty-first century to make the most of it. May the ink merrily flow!

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One last minor point. George's discussions and notes not infrequently cross-refer to other chapters, citing them by number. The page headers throughout the book, however, identify chapters by title not number, so if one wants to chase up a cross-reference to chapter number X, one must first consult the table of contents to discover its title. Perhaps in a future print run the chapter numbers could be added to the page headings.

But this and the other features commented on are at most minor blotches on a resplendent panoply. George is a master editor, and his book is a *chef-d'oeuvre*. Occasions such as this, on which important texts receive the careful and extensive treatment they deserve, are a reader's delight. If only someone would do the same for *Enūma Eliš*!

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# The Phoenicians in Spain from a Central Mediterranean Perspective: A Review Essay

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Marilyn R. Bierling with Seymour Gitin (translators and editors), 2002 *The Phoenicians in Spain. An Archaeological Review of the Eighth–Sixth Centuries B.C.E. A Collection of Articles Translated from Spanish*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns. Pp. 304. ISBN 1-57506-056-6 (cloth).

Hats off to Marilyn Bierling and Seymour Gitin for bringing the important finds pertaining to the Phoenician colonisation in Spain to a wider audience of scholars and students! Since the 1960s, the quantity of archaeological investigations at Phoenician sites in Spain has eclipsed many other regions. This collection of papers joins a growing body of literature in English concerning the Phoenicians and their remarkable western expansion from their homeland in the Levant. For instance, S. Moscati's edited volume *The Phoenicians* (1988), an enduring visual treat, M. E. Aubet [Semmler] *Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade* (2004), G. E. Markoe *Phoenicians in the Peoples of the Past* series (2000) and S. Lancel *Carthage, a History* (1997) spring to mind.<sup>1</sup>

From my own experience, not only must scholars tackle a long, and at times, patchy history of archaeological investigations of the Mediterranean coastal lands, but they are confronted by a geographically fragmented body

<sup>1</sup> Additional references in English, which concern Spain in whole or part: Culican 1986; Júdece Gamito 1988; Niemeyer 1990. Chamorro 1987, pp. 197–232, is still a useful summary dealing with many of the issues covered in the Bierling and Gitin volume.

of research sharply divided by language fault lines. Some of the papers in the volume are not recent, but the book's value is that it incorporates key articles from an enormous body of research into the Phoenician colonisation of Spain, providing historical depth and perspective. Many of the finds discussed in the articles are still pivotal to the chronological framework constructed for Spain during the first millennium B.C. The translations of the essays in the volume are 'polished' and Bierling (with Gitin) deserves praise for the work. The texts are illustrated throughout with line drawings of pottery, site plans, maps and photographs.

*The Phoenicians in Spain* addresses fundamental questions relevant to all sites influenced by Phoenician interests. One concerns the nature of the indigenous society at the time of contact by merchants and traders from the Levantine coast. Another surrounds the nature of Phoenician settlements in foreign lands and the mechanism used to infiltrate the local markets and tap into the resources of the interior. And inevitably, at the heart of matters West Phoenician is the vexed question of colonisation — when it took place and the issue of a possible pre-colonisation period of contact. In Part One of the book, seven essays concern the Phoenician colonisation of the Iberian Peninsula, east of the Strait of Gibraltar, and of Ibiza. In Part Two, the reader is taken westward, to the settlements on the Atlantic coast.

It may be of value to offer a central Mediterranean perspective from Malta and to consider the implication of the evidence from Spain. In doing so, this review will embrace the spirit motivating the translation of the papers, and attempt to integrate the archaeological findings from the Iberian Peninsula into the international arena by engaging in a dialogue concerning interaction between the east and west Mediterranean in the first millennium.<sup>2</sup> In many respects the results of such a comparison reflects the characteristics of 'colonialism' mooted by Van Dommelen: "...colonialism should first and foremost be conceived in terms of a number of specific colonial situations which share a set of interrelationships."<sup>3</sup> While it might be possible to trace the 'local context' — existing local infrastructures, economic and social conditions, religious practice as well as social landscapes — during the colonial period of Spain, it is not so clear a path in Malta.<sup>4</sup>

Debate concerning Malta during the Phoenician-Punic period was stalled by a lack of published data. This fact is clearly brought home by the

<sup>2</sup> Gitin 2002, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Van Dommelen 1998, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> These aspects of the colonial experience are discussed in Van Dommelen 1998, chapter 2, especially pp. 32–35.

abundant evidence for the Iberian Peninsula. The growing body of research for Spain, and indeed for other regions colonised by the Phoenicians, offers the kind of expansive view of when, how and why the Phoenicians chose their mark for settlement, and what their presence meant to the indigenous peoples they encountered. Intense, modern urban development continues to sweep away the fragile traces of the Malta's incredible past. If the great prehistoric temples' survival can fall under a shadow of an uncertain future,<sup>5</sup> then the rock-cut burial grounds and thin traces of archaeological stratigraphy comprising other ancient sites stand little chance.

*Frontiers and Borders: The Orientalising Period*

In the region of the Phoenician homeland, the culturally and politically divided Western Asia, occupation of foreign lands implied crossing borders, invasion and conquest. As contenders for territories, the great kingdoms of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Urartians, Medes and Persians all left their indelible mark on the region from the Gulf to the Black Sea. But the Mediterranean in the first millennium was an open highway. As Aubet Semmler notes, there were "Phoenician, Cypriot, Greek, and Italic elements in the area of the Straits of Gibraltar beginning in the 9<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries".<sup>6</sup> The Mediterranean does not seem to have been such an obstacle to ancient mariners and traders and the accumulating evidence for maritime contact leading up to Phoenician colonisation of the west has been the focus of numerous essays.<sup>7</sup> Long distance, westward exploration may have become a viable proposition relative to the advances made in ship building in the first millennium.<sup>8</sup> The Phoenicians would appear to have travelled west unopposed, targeting marginal areas for occupation at the very fringe, the coastal borders, of foreign lands.

The growing and important aspect of the research into colonisation concerns the nature of the indigenous groups in lands of the Mediterranean

<sup>5</sup> Urbanism is taking its toll on the landscape in Malta. Current debate also surrounds the land fill proposals for the quarry close to the temples of Mnajdra and Hagar Qim. One will never forget the spectre of vandalism carried out at Mnajdra when many of the ancient stones were pushed over.

<sup>6</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> One should also consider essays by Kassianidou, Hirschfeld, Lo Schiavo and by Almagro-Gorbea in the volume edited by Bonfante and Karageorghis 2001, that are relevant to the issue of trade and other contacts around the Mediterranean rim leading up to Phoenician colonisation in regard to the role played by Cyprus. No less important is the collection of papers in Stampolidis and Karageorghis (eds) 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Chamorro 1987, p. 198.

rim early in the first millennium.<sup>9</sup> In this regard, Aubet Semmler outlines the growth of ninth and eighth century Tartessian communities along the Guadalquivir River in a period that bore the hallmarks of peaceful co-existence and corresponding population growth.<sup>10</sup> There the Tartessian culture of the Final Bronze Age is defined by clusters of round houses with a preference for level ground in the Huelva, Sevilla, Córdoba and Cádiz regions.<sup>11</sup>

In the subsequent period rectilinear plans embody Phoenician influences. Industrial centres fed and fed off the Phoenician commercial enterprises, especially in regard to metallurgy, as well as an economy based on animal husbandry.<sup>12</sup> It is argued that the Tartessian monumental tombs [at Acebuchal, Alcantarilla and Setefilla] and ostentatious signs of wealth were the hallmarks of an emerging ruling class. Such obvious modifications of the landscape may indicate as much about tribal territoriality, heredity and land ownership, as the spectre of infiltration by foreign elements that gathered momentum at the coast. The Iberian evidence presents a double-edged sword of prosperity resulting from Phoenician presence as well an inherent threat posed by them. The degree to which the indigenous population changed as a result of foreign influence remains a problem. Ultimately, the question is whether Tartessian society continued along a path of evolution spontaneously set in motion by foreign contact. Although this issue is debated in a few sections of the Bierling volume,<sup>13</sup> the interpretation of the archaeological data is blurred. Nonetheless, Tartessian aristocracy appears to have benefited economically from the trade opening up along its coastal margins, though the debate concerning the true extent of Phoenician influences upon the indigenous culture shows no sign of abating.<sup>14</sup>

Tartessian society, it is argued, had reached a level of organisation with a ripening economic development that, by virtue of their population distribution and dominance over trade routes to the interior, was poised to benefit from the commercial interaction with Phoenician colonists. In this process, the ruling class acted as 'agents' of the state,<sup>15</sup> who ensured the pro-

<sup>9</sup> Van Dommelen 1997 and 1998.

<sup>10</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, pp. 206–207. Chamorro 1987, pp. 203 ff., offers a useful summary of the finds spanning the Late Bronze Age of Spain and the Orientalizing period.

<sup>11</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002b, p. 264. Architecture and town planning are also outlined in Chamorro 1987, pp. 221–223.

<sup>12</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, pp. 210–211.

<sup>13</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, pp. 155–198; Aubet Semmler 2002c, pp. 199–224; Aubet Semmler 2002d, 225–240.

<sup>14</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002b, pp. 101–103; pp. 204 ff., 216; *cf.* Van Dommelen 1997, pp. 305–323; 1998, pp. 76–80, 214–216.

<sup>15</sup> Donnan and Wilson 1999, p. 15.

duction of surpluses or the exploitation of natural resources and provided the point of contact for Phoenician traders.<sup>16</sup> It is precisely this level of social organisation that is thought to have been attractive to Phoenician traders.<sup>17</sup> Put simply, the Phoenicians had found a community with whom they could work.

What does seem certain is that the Tartessian aristocracy was entrenched and their settlements reflect a degree of social structure that fostered a thriving metallurgy. Not clearly defined in the essays are the related concepts of frontier, border and boundaries in regard to the Phoenician colonisation. More importantly how these issues affected the indigenous cultures they encountered. While Tartessian society may fall short of being classed as a cohesive state with urban development and a centralised power base, it was developing a social hierarchy.

If we want to explain the emergence of Tartessian culture in Spain what really needs to be teased out of the archaeological record is what it was that defined a Tartessian. Here we can draw, albeit briefly, on anthropological studies that tackle, head on, the concept of 'ethnicity'. Rather than a clear cut and static tribal entity,<sup>18</sup> ethnic identity, the sense of belonging, in reality, has layers of meaning and can be shaped by a number of social influences. Kinship that stems from primal factors from the birth of an individual — such as familial ties, language, religious ritual, belief systems, territorial claims and culture — plays a part. But this does not mean that the cultures are homogenous and without multicultural elements. Stimulus for these cultural changes in Spain — 'territorial restructuring'<sup>19</sup> — may have been external, sparked by an array of east Mediterranean commercial interests including those of the Phoenicians.<sup>20</sup> Diverse burial practices [tumuli, pit-graves, inhumation and cremation] and social hierarchy demonstrated by richness of grave goods in the Final Bronze Age indicate that the indigenous communities were benefiting from trade with Phoenician merchants.

Beyond the individual a sense of group, colonial interests can superimpose identity or it can be constructed within a society after a process of self-definition and self-evaluation.<sup>21</sup> The sense of group identity is heightened and strengthened in time of stress often stimulating conflict of access to re-

<sup>16</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, points (1) and (2), pp. 227–228.

<sup>17</sup> A view also presented in Ruiz Mata 2002b, p. 263.

<sup>18</sup> For discussions on ethnicity: Bentley 1987, Banks 1996; Hutchinson and Smith 1996; ethnicity and the archaeological record: Jones 1997; Emberling 1987; Emberling and Yoffee 1999.

<sup>19</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 208.

<sup>20</sup> Bonfante and Karageorghis (eds) 2001.

<sup>21</sup> Barth 1969; Guiderieri, Pellizi and Tambiah 1988.

sources, enforcing territorial claims, and triggering the demarcation of boundaries between tribal groups.<sup>22</sup> This corresponds to 'Orientalising Tartessian Horizon',<sup>23</sup> marked by acculturation of Phoenician elements first detected along the existing trade routes into the interior. Evidence of contact is manifest in a remarkable array of 'luxury' items that embrace the gamut of Phoenician artistic and technical know-how: precious-metal working, bronze metallurgy, glass and ivory craft work. In Spain it is foreign interests, of which the Phoenician interests were one, that may have triggered a greater awareness of Tartessian group identity. The gradual adoption of new burial practices such as cremation suggests that foreign influences were present prior to the Orientalising period.<sup>24</sup>

In terms of territoriality, the coastal margins of Spain might be regarded as the border zone where two independent cultural interests mingled. The sense of cultures mingling may have been at first restricted to commercial interests; on one side, the foreign Levantine trader-colonists, and, on the other, indigenous Tartessian metallurgists. In time, the inter-mingling would have infiltrated other cultural facets, as the border zone became an area of exchange not just of goods, but of technology, cultural traits, perhaps even of people. The Phoenicians may have been the protagonists triggering a formal demarcation, whether metaphorically or literally by erecting boundary markers. In this respect, they forced a territorial definition and some degree of negotiation as to where that border fell and how that border would operate. It is likely that the Tartessians had the upper hand in defining how far the zone of mingling would extend into the coastal hinterland, hence the Phoenicians made no great inroads into the interior. The notion of boundary marking and negotiation of territorial division is embedded into the fabled account of Dido, who is said quite literally to have drawn a line in the sand using the cow-hide in her claim to land at Carthage.

No less important is land use. The adoption of large tumuli and corresponding emergence of a wealthy élite characterise the evolution of Tartessian culture. At the local level, the burial of the aristocracy was probably carried out with elaborate funerary rites; in turn these events marked the transfer of property and power thereby maintaining social order.<sup>25</sup> Construction of the tumuli implies group willingness, effort and organisation. Whether or not the construction of conspicuous tumuli was motivated by a

<sup>22</sup> Barth 1969.

<sup>23</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 203.

<sup>24</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, pp. 214–215.

<sup>25</sup> Metcalf and Huntington 1991.



conscious desire to alter that landscape, this was the end result. Built into the burial mounds were clear symbolic values, testimony to ownership of the land by the élite groups that, over time, gathered historic depth. Such burial grounds could have taken on meaning as territorial markers — signposts — for tribal groups contributing to their sense of identity and unity while at the same time adding to the differences between theirs and other groups.<sup>26</sup>

A Phoenician counter-response to what might be regarded as an indigenous land claim was the building of a temple that carried similar symbolic value. It, too, was the seat of religious, political and economic power poised at the frontier. In such a situation the frontier was the territorial boundary as defined by the indigenous people and to the foreigners it embodied the distant economic periphery of their homeland.

Hence the temple of Melkart at Gadir played a significant role in the occupation of colony,<sup>27</sup> notably in the ‘sociopolitical mechanisms for mutual relationships’, and ‘common worship in indigenous sanctuaries’.<sup>28</sup> One key element on the colonisation process was the ‘pact using religious formulas’.<sup>29</sup> The profound role of the Phoenician temple on foreign soil was to serve as a focal point for interaction with indigenous groups, as well as embodying the “symbol of Tyrian political institutions, the agreements and alliances arranged between the Tartessian leaders and the Phoenician daughter colony...”.<sup>30</sup> Much of the data of the Spanish finds suggests that this applied to the early Phoenician settlements.

Aubet Semmler<sup>31</sup> draws a parallel to the Phoenician temple at Tas Silg built on top of the megalithic stones of a prehistoric temple.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, if we looked back further in time in Malta, we could argue that the humble, Late Bronze Age dwellings were sited close to the, by then ancient, stones of the Temple Period at the site of Borg in-Nadur.<sup>33</sup>

Given the symbolism behind the Spanish Tartessian tumuli, one could argue that deeper cultural and historic symbolism under-pinned the re-occupation of the Maltese prehistoric sites. On the one hand, the Late Bronze

<sup>26</sup> Donnan and Wilson 1999, pp. 13, 19–41.

<sup>27</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, pp. 230–231.

<sup>28</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, p. 228.

<sup>29</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, p. 228.

<sup>30</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, pp. 230–231.

<sup>31</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, p. 228, after Ciasca 1982; Astarte’s temple in Kition is also considered an example.

<sup>32</sup> The significance of the site of the temple of Tas Silg, Malta, is discussed by Vidal González 1999, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Trump 1961, pp. 253–262; 2002, 254–258; Trump 1976, discusses the end of the Temple Period and subsequent cultures.

Age people made a territorial claim at sites that dated deep into antiquity, as the other foreigners — Phoenicians — staked a new claim on similar ancient locations regardless of local interests. This intriguing possibility would imply that history repeated itself at the two sites (at Borg in-Nadur and at Tas Silg), and that differing people fell into a pattern of occupation and territorial demarcation through some claim on earlier monuments.

Phoenician colonisation of the Mediterranean coastal regions reflects a confidence matched by their ostentatious settlements. Judging by the scale of the temples at Tas Silg, Malta was no exception. Whatever the motivation for the choice of site, the symbolic values (as a focal point for trade, religion and government) driving the building of an impressive temple at Tas Silg were likely to have been just as significant as they were in Spain.

But are we reading too much into the cultural hot house of Malta? Archaeologically the issue of continuity of occupation at the site of Tas Silg is far from clear. As an 'ancient native sanctuary',<sup>34</sup> Tas Silg may have been defunct centuries before the first Phoenician contemplated heading west across the sea.<sup>35</sup> It would imply that the intervening Bronze Age people of Malta, themselves reputedly newcomers to Malta<sup>36</sup> held the ancient stones in some regard despite the hiatus separating the temple builders and the later Bronze Age cultures. Furthermore, it would also imply that the Phoenicians were aware of this and manipulated it to their own advantage, splicing into their land claim historic depth from existing monuments in the territories they claimed and occupied. Ultimately, the merits of prime 'real estate' such as at Borg in-Nadur and at Tas Silg, both nestled in the region around the important harbour of Marsaxlokk Bay, did not escape the ancients, and this is likely to have been a strong incentive in their choice.

In Malta the evidence for domestic quarters in the Phoenician colonisation period is limited,<sup>37</sup> and clear archaeological data for the interface period at habitation sites have yet to be published. Bahrija and the hut sites at Borg in-Nadur are dated to the final stages of the Bronze Age (the Late Borg in-Nadur phase). Unlike the cache of pottery from Mtarfa pit excavated in 1939 by Ward Perkins,<sup>38</sup> which dates to the Late Borg in-Nadur pe-

<sup>34</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, p. 228.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Ciasca 1999, pp. 21–25.

<sup>36</sup> Evans 1971, p. 224, "The people of the Tarxien Cemetery were certainly intrusive into the Maltese islands"; also Bonanno 1993, p. 44, at the end of the Temple Period, the islands "seem to have been completely deserted".

<sup>37</sup> The pottery at some villa sites in Malta, such as St Pauli Milqi, indicates that occupation at the sites date back to the late Punic times.

<sup>38</sup> Ward Perkins 1938–1939; Sagona 1999.

riod, these sites apparently did not have imported Phoenician wares or imitations drawn from the Phoenician pottery repertoire.

Fortified sites like Castillo de Doña Blanca-Gadir [La Fonteta, Almu-daina (Ibiza), or Sulcis in Sardinia] intrinsically imply that colonisation was not without risk.<sup>39</sup> Phoenician fortifications invite a number of interpretations. As aliens in a foreign land, the Phoenicians were threatened. Or the Phoenicians wanted an element of distance between them and the indigenous people. Fortifications may have sent the clear message that the Phoenicians were there to stay, that they wanted to maintain a permanent hold on certain locations, snubbing local claims to the land. Perhaps Gadir was the most risky of their enterprises in Spain, but one that promised the richest rewards and so-called for defensive walls. A perceived threat might also have come from the sea through piracy and rival trading interests.

Salvage work at Mesquita Square in Mdina (Malta) uncovered remains of a substantial ashlar building or possibly a fortification wall of Punic date.<sup>40</sup> Reputedly Phoenician and Punic remains of the eighth and sixth centuries have been found at Mdina, but we await full publication of the excavations. Otherwise, evidence of walled Phoenician settlements in Malta has not been recorded. Clearly their settlements were not limited to marginal coastal areas of the island given that some of the earliest signs of Levantine influences were found in the interior.<sup>41</sup>

While it is not always possible to gauge the degree of passive or aggressive interchange of trade activities and later colonisation processes, nor to trace the dynamics of maritime trade activity, the endurance of the Tartessian culture does convey the sense that they met the challenge of the Phoenician presence. If the Tartessians themselves were mariners,<sup>42</sup> one might ponder whether the Phoenician settlements at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River and the fortifications at Castillo de Doña Blanca [Cadiz],<sup>43</sup> as well as those settlements along the Spanish coast, might have limited or thwarted safe passage to the sea by indigenous groups.

The distinction between other aspects of Phoenician and local Tartessian culture, as well as Etruscan influences (such as has been argued for the

<sup>39</sup> Phoenician colonies in Sardinia were also fortified; Aubert Semmler 2002d, p. 231.

<sup>40</sup> Buhagiar 2000, p. 46, salvage work was conducted at Mesquita Square, Xara Palace and St Paul's Street, all within Mdina.

<sup>41</sup> Sagona 2002, archaic tomb finds are listed on p. 39 and include Buskett Gardens, Mtarfa and Rabat.

<sup>42</sup> The Tartessians may not have been mariners; cf. Chamorro 1987, p. 215, "The indigenous population understood little about the geographical extension of the Mediterranean Sea, but knew perfectly well where to find the precious stones that Eastern merchants desired."

<sup>43</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, pp. 170 ff.

treasures from Aliseda), especially in regard artwork, is far from clear cut.<sup>44</sup> Such artefacts from any of the colonies whether in Spain or elsewhere along the Mediterranean seaboard may reflect “a vast and complex panorama of provincial and native Phoenician art.”<sup>45</sup> The knotty issue of origin falls on the Carmona ivories and the bronze oenochoi found at sites like La Joya; for both groups of artefacts, Aubet Semmler argues for production in west Phoenician workshops.<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps most challenging are the problems surrounding the ceramic repertoire of seventh and sixth century Spain.<sup>47</sup> Here regional variations have been identified. Hand-made pottery and archaic, eighth century forms seem to endure at Tartessian settlements west of Gibraltar in to the sixth century: “It is more logical to suppose the presence of Phoenician workshops of an archaic nature, operating in the midst of indigenous territory from the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. on.”<sup>48</sup> The reluctance shown by Tartessian groups to adopt the potter’s wheel<sup>49</sup> may have ultimately more to do with deep, indigenous cultural practices. Risking over-simplification, perhaps the issue is as basic as home or cottage production of burnished wares (based on domestic needs of the household) as opposed to production in the workshop (driven by commercial demand). Ultimately, Aubet Semmler argues for the enduring traditional nature of Tartessian society and that the processes toward urban life and social complexity were evolutionary, a process already in motion by the time Phoenicians occupied the coastal margins.<sup>50</sup>

Despite the limitations of the archaeological record for Malta leading up to colonisation by the Phoenicians, there is evidence for a significant Orientalising period in which the pottery repertoire takes on Levantine characteristics prior to the colonisation of the eighth century B.C.<sup>51</sup> And

<sup>44</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, pp. 218–222.

<sup>45</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 219. To this can be added the overview by Chamorro 1987, pp. 215–221, for bronze jugs, braziers, incense burners, fubulas, belt-buckles and gold products.

<sup>46</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, pp. 219–220. This issue of cultural interconnections evident in the products of Phoenician artisans has been discussed recently by Niemeyer 2003, pp. 201–208.

<sup>47</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, pp. 220–221.

<sup>48</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 221.

<sup>49</sup> Note Almagro-Gorbea and Fontes 1997, pp. 345–361, who discuss the possibility that the potter’s wheel and other technology was introduced into the late Bronze Age, Iberian Peninsula from the eastern Mediterranean prior to Phoenician colonisation of the eighth century B.C. Both imported wares and technological know-how may have originated in Mycenaean.

<sup>50</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 224.

<sup>51</sup> The pottery repertoire does reflect a ‘hybridisation’ (see Van Dommelen 1998, pp. 214–216) or fusion of two traditions in Malta. Not all share my interpretation of the archaeological evidence. Cf. Vidal González 1999, p. 26, “There is no element which allows us to talk about a Phoenician presence in Malta when the first great Phoenician expansion occurred from the East to the Spanish coasts, in the eighth century BC”.

this is where Malta stands apart from other Phoenician occupied regions. The fabric of the pottery from the Late Borg in-Nadur period is macroscopically indistinguishable from the pottery that is influenced by the Levantine repertoire. This is particularly so for the cache of vessel fragments in a rock-cut pit found at Mtarfa.<sup>52</sup> It is this group that partly forms the basis of the shape typology for the Late Borg in-Nadur period depicted in Evan's monumental work on prehistoric Malta.<sup>53</sup>

### *Nature of Colonisation*

Spain's mineral resources were a powerful lure for Phoenician traders. Kilns and the equipment for metalworking were found at Huelva and San Bartolomé indicating that smelting of gold and silver was carried out at these sites. Tejada La Vieja, on the other hand, may have had an economy based on mining and was less reliant on metal processing. Fernández Jurado's study<sup>54</sup> includes some chemical analyses of ore, lime, slag and slag-lined crucibles in relationship to the mining of metallurgy of the Andalusian region. Varying ore grades indicate that Huelva was supplied from the Riotinto ore fields while San Bartolomé and Tejada La Vieja drew on the mines at Aznalcóllar; their products were traded on to the mouth of the Guadalquivir River.<sup>55</sup>

Taken at face value, the Maltese archipelago, on the other hand, has no apparent minerals or obvious resources that could have been harvested by the Phoenicians. Nonetheless the islands attracted colonists. If Malta was home to exportable resources and merchandise, traces of these commodities have not survived in the archaeological record. As a Phoenician colony and Punic settlement, Malta was renowned among ancient writers for its textile industry and the value placed on its safe harbours was not lost on the ancient historians.<sup>56</sup>

Emerging from the assays in *The Phoenicians in Spain* is the diverse patterns of Phoenician trade and settlement of the Mediterranean rim that were evident in first millennium:

<sup>52</sup> Sagona 1999, pp. 23–60; Sagona 2002, pp. 29–32 gazetteer entry [295]; Evans 1971, p. 107.

<sup>53</sup> Evans 1971, figs 12:4 lid, 41:1–13.

<sup>54</sup> Fernández Jurado 2002, pp. 241–262; see also Chamorro 1987, pp. 198–203, for an additional summary of research into Spain's metallurgy.

<sup>55</sup> Fernández Jurado 2002, p. 260, fig. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Diodorus Siculus Book V.12.2–3.

- [1] Opportunistic, sporadic targeting of markets by individuals or small groups.
- [2] Economic and political support for exploration initiated from the 'homeland', especially from Tyre.
- [3] Initial settlements — some clearly succeeded and others failed.
- [4] Relocation of unsuccessful settlements to more economically viable locations.
- [5] Systematic diasporas from the homeland driven by economic, social or political pressure; conducted in waves.

Phoenician colonisation in Spain was not only staggered over time, but presents a patchy record of success.<sup>57</sup> Some sites continue to flourish, while others were abandoned around the turn of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.; in general the region experienced an economic 'boom' of the seventh century B.C. In the process of colonising the west Mediterranean, some of the original settlements served an important function as bases from which reconnaissance and further colonisation could be undertaken. As Aubet Semmler notes: "Thus, the establishment of the Phoenician colonies to the east of Gadir, in a zone not very conducive to land trade, seems to have been to serve the great western metropolis of Gadir".<sup>58</sup>

Phoenician economy was structured and enterprises were conducted from the series of predominantly small settlements that they established on the southern coast of Spain. Using the collective 'archaeological, faunal and geomorphological' data, Aubet Semmler has questioned long held assumptions that the Phoenicians located their settlements at strategic points where they could monopolise access to mineral resources, and to marine and riverine trade routes. Most importantly, she established that these small sites reflect the blue-print for settlement in the 'pre-colonial' period;<sup>59</sup> a time when their primary role as ports of call and as trading enclaves was supplemented with industrial activities. The local economy included hunting, herding of domesticates, and agriculture,<sup>60</sup> which were practiced to varying degrees, possibly with surpluses being traded.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002b, pp. 97–112; also for example, Morales, *et al.* (eds) 1994, p. 216, document fluctuations in occupation and function at the site of Castillo de Doña Blanca.

<sup>58</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 202.

<sup>59</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002a, p. 87.

<sup>60</sup> Numerous agricultural implements at Cerro del Villar indicate that the grinding of wheat was carried out at the Phoenician site on a domestic and on a commercial scale: Aubet Semmler 2002a, pp. 91–95. Also Aubet Semmler 1997, pp. 11–22, discusses the economic activity at the site.

<sup>61</sup> One might compare a different interpretation; Niemeyer 1990, pp. 469–489, apart from Carthage, other colonies followed "strictly a traders' strategy, designed to facilitate the advancement of their mercantile interests" [p. 487].

The survey of Spanish sites in the Bierling and Gitin volume and the complexity of settlements they represent heightens the sense of how the Phoenicians may have infiltrated Malta. Three criteria for 'mutual relationships' between indigenous people and settlers are discussed by Aubet Semmler: (a) religious pacts; (b) integration of élite local elements; (c) coercion of indigenous groups.<sup>62</sup> The funerary and the temple site at Tas Silg suggest that the Maltese of the day may have absorbed foreign influences on the level of (a) and (b) in the colonisation process. There is no certain (published) evidence at this stage for (c). In the scheme of western trading ventures, Malta was arguably a key port in the exploration of the Mediterranean, providing evidence for contact at a relatively early date and eventual occupation. Considering the distances involved, the imperative to maintain supply lines was vital for the initial traders, the 'commercial scouts' so to speak, who established the existence of resource markets with a view to infiltrating them. Phoenician traders are thought to have tapped into long standing and pre-existing trade routes exploited the indigenous communities' dominance of resources and produce of the interior.<sup>63</sup> Malta offered safe anchorage, supplies and, unless proven otherwise, a hospitable welcome. In this regard, the total absence of weaponry in the tombs of the Phoenician-Punic period in Malta must be of some significance and, as already stated, there is no unequivocal evidence for fortified Phoenician settlements.

One further point, Ovid relates an account of Anna, Dido's sister, who fled to Battus, king of Malta.<sup>64</sup> Despite the problems surrounding Battus and who he was in reality, at its most basic level the saga of Anna does convey the sense that the Phoenician colony in Malta was already well-established by the time Carthage was settled [c. 814 B.C.]<sup>65</sup> with a stable monarchy and presumably a social hierarchy to match. There are some archaeological indicators that a ruling class existed in Malta, or at least that there were some socially élite groups, who went to their spacious, rock-cut graves with overt signs of personal wealth.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, p. 228.

<sup>63</sup> This sense of pioneering trading ventures from the east Mediterranean is brought home by Almagro-Gorbea 2001, pp. 239–270, who summarises the artefacts linked to Cyprus.

<sup>64</sup> Ovid Book 3, [Nagle translation] "Near barren Cosyra is the bountiful island of Malta, pounded by the waves of the Libyan strait. Anna headed there, counting on ancient ties of hospitality. Her host was Battus, the king and a wealthy man. After he had learned the fate of each of the sisters, he said, "This land, tiny as it is, is yours."

<sup>65</sup> Lancel 1997, pp. 1–3.

<sup>66</sup> Tomb evidence of wealth in Malta: Sagona 2002, pp. 281–283; Gras, *et al.* 1991, pp. 145, 147.

*Chronology*

It has to be stated from the outset that the chronology of the Mediterranean in the first millennium is in a state of flux. New radiocarbon dates from Tel Dor<sup>67</sup> and the relative sequences from sites in the homeland do not sit comfortably with the generally accepted chronological arguments for the central and western Phoenician colonies; my own conclusions for Malta included. This is not the place to discuss the issue at length and what follows adheres to the arguments presented in the book under review.

Eighth century B.C. sites discovered on the Málaga coast are pivotal in the establishment of the early cultural sequence in which the seriation of red-slipped pottery forms, notably that of plates, formed no small part. The chronological development of the increasing width of plate rims over time, continues to underpin the relative dating of similar finds at other Spanish sites. Research carried out by Schubart at Morro de Mezquitilla, on the Málaga coast, is fundamental to the cultural sequence of Spain.<sup>68</sup> Here the discussion of the chronological sequence includes an account of the interface between the indigenous Chalcolithic culture and the new Phoenician elements that appeared at the site. Without clear (published) stratigraphy from one or more sites in Malta, it is impossible to judge whether this scheme can be applied or has any relevancy to the island.<sup>69</sup> The funerary sequence and repertoire suggest that it does not.<sup>70</sup>

Pellicer Catalán offers a wider summary of research in Spain as background to the extraordinary finds at the 'Laurita' necropolis, Cerro de San Cristóbal, north-west of Almuñécar (Sexi). Here an important series of alabaster jars that had served as cinerary urns were discovered associated with some red-slipped Phoenician vessels. Research that ensued on the inscriptions in both Egyptian hieroglyphics and Semitic (whether Phoenician or Carthaginian is debated) on a number of the urns is summarised. The importance of the relative chronology for the Phoenician colonisation period in Spain and indeed for the wider Mediterranean is highlighted by the

<sup>67</sup> Gilboa and Sharon 2003, pp. 7–80.

<sup>68</sup> Schubart 2002, pp. 3–29. See also Chamorro 1987, pp. 212–215, who summarises the nature of Phoenician wares in Spain. Aubet-Semmler 2004, pp. 372–381, has a useful revision of radiocarbon dates from the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>69</sup> Considering the difficulties posed by the Tharros material held in the British Museum, Mitchell 1987, pp. 50–51, applied Schubart's scheme to the plates in order to date the Tharros examples.

<sup>70</sup> The Punic plate range from Tas Silg, at least those recovered from the southern sector (excavated by the University of Malta) would appear, by and large, to post-date the material from the Morro de Mezquitilla. The Italian excavations in the northern sector, which might offer a more comprehensive stratigraphic picture for the site has yet to be published fully.



proto-Corinthian imported *kotylai* found in Tomb 19B.<sup>71</sup> One is dated to the end of the eighth and another to the first half of the seventh centuries B.C.<sup>72</sup> How the imports and associated red-slipped oenochoe, mushroom-topped jugs and plates<sup>73</sup> have provided important chronological links to a number of other sites such as Toscanos is clearly outlined.

Even at important Phoenician sites like Gadir, the evidence for the earliest phase of contact that might bridge the chronological divide between the Classical and archaeological evidence is wanting.<sup>74</sup> The Classical account does not tally with the archaeological evidence, that is 1104 B.C. compared to the eighth-seventh centuries B.C. respectively.<sup>75</sup> Focusing on the excavation, Atlantic coastal settlements undertaken at Huelva (Cabezo de San Pedro),<sup>76</sup> San Bartolomé (Almonte, Huelva),<sup>77</sup> Castillo de Doña Blanca<sup>78</sup> and El Carambolo,<sup>79</sup> Ruiz Mata outlines the perplexing issue of dating for the foundation of the settlement. The archaeological evidence for any earlier settlement remains elusive, perhaps lost to Cadiz's changing coastal landscape, especially siltation of the Guadalete River and urban development.

In order to fill in the chronological gap, the net was cast more widely to incorporate Castillo de Doña Blanca, a fortified settlement established by the Phoenicians with building phases in the eighth century. Ruiz Mata argues for settlement of Castillo de Doña Blanca and Gadir at around the same time (eighth century B.C.)<sup>80</sup> and that the religious precinct, the city of Gadir and fortification at Castillo de Doña Blanca, "all of them came to be known as "Gadir".<sup>81</sup> Drawing on Bikai's work at Tyre, a correlation is made between pottery of Gadir and Tyre III and II assigned to the second half of the eighth century B.C.<sup>82</sup> A detailed pottery sequence has been constructed for the Gadir sites and is summarised and illustrated in the Bierling and Gitin volume. It spans from the earliest red-slip of the eighth century to the principle repertoire of the seventh and sixth centuries. An

<sup>71</sup> The pottery, including the Greek imports and alabastron of Tomb 19 in the 'Laurita' necropolis are illustrated in colour in Moscati (ed.) 1988, p. 235.

<sup>72</sup> Pellicer Catalán 2002, pp. 54–55.

<sup>73</sup> Pellicer Catalán 2002, figs 8–9.

<sup>74</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, p. 170.

<sup>75</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a and 2002b, pp. 155–160 and pp. 263–266, discusses the Classical accounts of the date of colonisation of Spain by the Phoenicians.

<sup>76</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002b, pp. 266–270.

<sup>77</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002b, pp. 270–274.

<sup>78</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002b, pp. 274–286.

<sup>79</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002b, pp. 286–294.

<sup>80</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, pp. 174–175.

<sup>81</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, p. 175.

<sup>82</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, p. 160.

outline of the contemporary indigenous wares from the excavations conducted in the region is also provided.

La Fonteta, a well-preserved and large fortified site on the east coast of Spain, has an important stratigraphic sequence ultimately dated by Greek imports, spanning from 590 [Phase 1A] to a time before 720 B.C. [for Phase 1C]. González Prats, García Menárguez and Ruiz Segura,<sup>83</sup> make comparisons between finds at the site, the stelae and jewellery, and those from other key Phoenician colonies such as Ibiza, Carthage and Motya. La Fonteta functioned as a port, commercial centre as well as exploiting the agricultural potential of the region.

Useful correlations occur between the Ibiza ceramic evidence and Malta, notably from the Ghajn Qajjied tomb, especially oil bottles and tripod bowls.<sup>84</sup> Child burials at Ibiza are inhumations not cremations;<sup>85</sup> the same appears to be the case in Malta.<sup>86</sup> In regard to Phoenician colonisation, Malta does provide a chronological sequence that clearly indicates contact with the east Mediterranean prior to the eighth century.<sup>87</sup> One should point out that recently Almagro-Gorbea, in another collection of essays,<sup>88</sup> discussed the wider archaeological evidence for pre-colonial contacts with the west Mediterranean at the end of the second and the beginning of the next millennium. Cyprus as a port of call played no small part in this process as it was, "a cultural melting pot and a place where sea routes crossed in the East Mediterranean."<sup>89</sup> Even though we may not have the evidence for an absolute chronology for the Orientalising period before the eighth century in Malta, we are able to infer that Levantine interests had infiltrated Malta prior to the waves of colonisation that brought the Phoenicians to the western Mediterranean region. Aubet-Semmler argues along the same lines for Gadir.<sup>90</sup>

The essays in *The Phoenicians in Spain* clearly indicate that arguments promoting the view that the Iberian coastal regions were sparsely populated or even uninhabited are no longer tenable.<sup>91</sup> There is an inherent contradic-

<sup>83</sup> González Prats, García Menárguez and Ruiz Segura 2002, pp. 113–125.

<sup>84</sup> Ramón 2002, pp. 137, fig. 5:3, p. 139, fig. 6:1. Cf. Sagona 2002, fig. 23:5, 26:1, and figs 24:6, 25:11, 26:3, oil bottle and tripod bowl from Ghajn Qajjied. See also Ramón 1982, pp. 17–41, for a study of the oil bottles; Groenewoud and Vidal González 1996.

<sup>85</sup> Ramón 2002, p. 138.

<sup>86</sup> Sagona 2002, p. 69, child burials are rare in the Punic tombs of Malta up to Phase IV; when present only inhumations have been documented.

<sup>87</sup> Sagona 2002, pp. 29–39.

<sup>88</sup> Almagro-Gorbea 2001.

<sup>89</sup> Almagro-Gorbea 2001, pp. 239–269; also Bonanno 1988, p. 419. See also n. 7 in regard to relevant essays in Bonfante and Karageorghis (eds) 2001.

<sup>90</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 209; also see now Niemeyer 2004.

<sup>91</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, p. 169, referring to Escacena 1986 "Gadir", in *Los fenicios en la Península Ibérica*, Sabadell: AUSA, pp. 49–50; cf. Ruiz Mata 2002a, pp. 169–198.

tion in this notion, but it is a similar line of argument that persists in essays concerning colonisation of Malta.<sup>92</sup> Evidence for interaction between the indigenous people and Phoenician culture is not lacking for Malta. The fact that Orientalised ware on the island<sup>93</sup> was hand-made in itself indicates that the indigenous people were present, and that their method of manufacturing pottery endured the influx of foreign elements to their shores. Remnant Late Borg in-Nadur pottery styles in archaic Phoenician tomb groups in Malta point to the same scenario.<sup>94</sup> One can compare similar conclusions reached by Ruiz Mata for the Cadiz sites.<sup>95</sup> There the evidence indicates that a significant indigenous element is present in the early eighth century repertoire of Castillo de Doña Blanca-Gadir. The nature of the pottery has a domestic quality. Bowls and cooking wares, hand-made with traditional designs [pattern-burnished, basket motifs on bowls] continue within the repertoire into the seventh century. While he acknowledges the interaction between the two cultures, the mechanism by which such interaction took place is not explored.

Interestingly, imported Greek or Cypriot vessels do not figure in the archaic tomb repertoire (the pre-colonisation period) in Malta. As a community, the indigenous Maltese of the Late Bronze Age would appear to have mixed with the eastern foreign elements enough for their pottery forms to have been taken over in part and for the foreign pottery styles to be copied — a case for cultural hybridisation.<sup>96</sup> Arguments for a paucity of population in Malta or a population that at best was impoverished are, however, a re-occurring theme; and one that needs to be laid to rest. Why foreign imports were not included in the burials of the day (that is, in the tombs of the pre-colonising period) is an interesting problem. The answer may lie in the differing characteristics of the first traders and settlers who brought the Oriental influences to the island and the waves of Phoenicians immigrants who came there during the fully-fledged, colonisation period. Differences in affluence, in their purpose — traders as opposed to settlers — the goods which they brought with them, where they came from and whether they stopped along the way, may all play a part in shaping the character of the foreign culture that first made its mark in Malta.

<sup>92</sup> Vidal González 1999, p. 27 “...the Phoenicians might have found the island uninhabited, or with such a small population that no trace was left in the archaeological records”.

<sup>93</sup> Sagona 2002, pp. 29–39, the Archaic or Orientalising Period.

<sup>94</sup> The nub of the problem in Malta has always revolved around recognising remnant pre-historic features in the Orientalised pottery repertoire and vice versa: see Ciasca 1971 and 1982; Bonanno 1993, pp. 236–238.

<sup>95</sup> Ruiz Mata 2002a, pp. 182–184. Note also the summary by Chamorro 1987, pp. 208–212, who discusses the various pottery wares and repertoires in Tartessian contexts.

<sup>96</sup> Van Dommelen 1998, p. 214–216.

We return here to Anna's flight to Malta and the statement that the island had an established monarchy. Before we dismiss the account as mere fable, the archaeological evidence within Malta validates the chronological sequence it suggests.<sup>97</sup> The early establishment of Phoenician interests there does fall into line with the late second-early first millennium dates recorded by the Classical authors for Utica, Cadiz and Lixus. But I acknowledge the circular argument as the Classical dates are controversial in themselves, made all the more tenuous by the Iberian archaeological record to date.<sup>98</sup>

In the absence of absolute dates, a relative chronology has been constructed for Malta. Pivotal to the sequence is the all-important tomb found at Ghajn Qajjied in Malta, a tomb that can be assigned to the fully-fledged colonisation period. Like other tombs of the time, imported pottery figures in the range of wares. In the Ghajn Qajjied tomb, two Greek imports are important for the dates that they provide, between late-eighth and the mid-to late- seventh centuries B.C. for two inhumations in the tomb.<sup>99</sup> Other wares in the tomb are significant because they are wheel-made and have all of the hallmarks of an established repertoire both in shapes (that drew on the Phoenician pottery range) and fabrics. Only a few eroded sherds of hand-made pottery were found in the chamber.<sup>100</sup> By implication, other tombs with hand-made wares and earlier Orientalised pottery forms must logically be dated to an earlier phase. In the absence of definitive dating criteria, we can at least suggest that the earlier, archaic tombs predate the Ghajn Qajjied group; the passage of time between the tombs of the pre-colonisation and colonisation periods was such that the repertoire matured. Not only had forms dropped from the repertoire in Malta by the time of the Ghajn Qajjied tomb burials, but wheel-manufacture was introduced and the nature (that is the fabric) of the pottery had also changed.

We await the final statement of the sequence at Tas Silg from the Italian excavations as it is the only excavated stratified site to offer what may be vital information concerning the interface between prehistoric period and Phoenician colonisation. Similarly the reports of the salvage work carried out at Mdina that has reputedly found red-slipped ware promises to be significant to the debate.

<sup>97</sup> Sagona 2002, chapter 2, pp. 29–39.

<sup>98</sup> Lancel 1997, pp. 1–3; Markoe 2000, pp. 187–188.

<sup>99</sup> Boardman 1965, p. 6. We leave aside here the two vessels that date to a much later cremation burial made in the Ghajn Qajjied tomb; Sagona 2002.

<sup>100</sup> As the details of the excavation are limited, it cannot be ascertained whether the hand-made fragments were intrusive or may have been part of the first burial group, perhaps cleared out at the time of the second burial.

The geographic differences between the vast Iberian Peninsula compared to the small island archipelago of Malta undoubtedly dictated that colonisation would affect the respective indigenous cultures to varying degrees. Considering the archaeological and chronological evidence of the two regions, Malta should be viewed as one of the initial, reliable stepping stones to the west.<sup>101</sup>

### *The Long-Term Fate of the Colonies*

The rise and decline of Phoenician sites suggests flexibility, perhaps a cultural fluidity, inherent in Phoenician society that saw them relocate settlements probably driven by market forces. One example of the 'basic mechanisms' of colonisation and the all-important date of occupation is the island of Ibiza.<sup>102</sup> Colonisation is thought to have taken place in two successive stages. The relative chronology points to colonisation of Sa Caleta in the early sixth century B.C. This single period settlement witnessed some modification to the existing buildings until its systematic and complete abandonment, perhaps in favour of the environs around the Bay of Ibiza. The latter bay has varied sites — settlement [Joan Tur Esquerrer], fortified [Almudaina], funerary [Puig des Molins], and religious precincts [Illa Plana] — which indicate that it was not merely a port of call.

Important to this period in Spain's history is the archaeological excavation conducted by Niehmeyer at Toscanos.<sup>103</sup> Within the contexts of his findings at Toscanos, Niehmeyer's examination of the concept of 'city' explores F. Kolb's six-part definition presented in *Die Stadt im Altertum* (1984). Significant fortifications at Toscanos — a surviving moat and a 'theoretical' companion wall — testified to the 'topographic and administrative unity'<sup>104</sup> of the population. Population estimates between 1000 and 1500 in the seventh century placed Toscanos over the minimal margin defined by Kolb for 'city' status. Specialisation within the labour force, Kolb's third criterion, is evident in an industrial sector that included metallurgic work-shops and purple dye works. Bone analyses indicate that the local economy had moved away from subsistence to market-oriented production including cattle raising and fishing. While architectural diversity is probable

<sup>101</sup> Malta may have had as much to offer as Ibiza in the sixth century: Ramón 2002, pp. 151–152.

<sup>102</sup> Ramón 2002, summarises the evidence from the main settlement and burial sites in Ibiza.

<sup>103</sup> Niehmeyer 2002, pp. 31–48; note the extended bibliography is useful.

<sup>104</sup> Niehmeyer 2002, p. 40.

for Toscanos, Niemeyer could not verify whether an 'urban lifestyle' existed at Toscanos nor whether it acted as a focal point for an extended hinterland. Ultimately as the evidence was lacking for two of Kolb's six criteria of a 'city', Niemeyer argued that the site should still be identified as 'trading post'.

The end of the Orientalising period in Spain is discussed by Aubet Semmler.<sup>105</sup> The decline of the sixth century<sup>106</sup> is evident in the silver production of Andalusia<sup>107</sup> and with it the ultimate 'disappearance of Tartessos<sup>108</sup> exacerbated by the 'domino effect' of failed or changing economic structures of the greater Mediterranean region. Abandonment of open sites in Spain occurred at this time.<sup>109</sup> The settlements that did thrive were the urban centres at Huelva and Tejada la Vija. It is argued that the Mediterranean experienced a fundamental economic change, one that saw the redundancy of direct commercial exchange through the ruling class to "trade that functioned on supply and demand with a monetary basis."<sup>110</sup>

The decline corresponds to the 'introverted' period in Malta (Phase II, estimated to fall within the sixth century B.C.)<sup>111</sup> and the economic downturn may reflect a more universal trend across the Mediterranean. But Malta's Phoenician-Punic chapter does not end here. Islands have their own biogeographical limitations. Perhaps because Malta is a small archipelago relatively isolated compared to the other Phoenician settlements, its society appears to have continued along a stable and conservative path.<sup>112</sup> Despite the economic and political events that befell the Mediterranean, Phoenician-Punic cultural traits survive in mortuary contexts in Malta well past the turn of the first millennium B.C.–A.D.

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<sup>105</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002c, p. 224.

<sup>106</sup> Aubet Semmler 2002d, p. 237.

<sup>107</sup> Fernández Jurado 2002, pp. 260–261.

<sup>108</sup> Fernández Jurado 2002, pp. 260–261.

<sup>109</sup> Fernández Jurado 2002, p. 260, for example Almonte.

<sup>110</sup> Fernández Jurado 2002, p. 260. Disruption to maritime trade may have occurred through the military activities of Carthage in Sicily, Sardinia and later in the battle of Alalia (Aleria, Corsica); Lancel 1997, p. 81.

<sup>111</sup> Sagona 2002, p. 52.

<sup>112</sup> One recalls here the essay by Evans 1973, pp. 517–520, concerning islands as 'laboratories'. Although focused on prehistory, some of the effects of insularity may have come into play for the Phoenician-Punic society in Malta. The result being a society that showed gradual changes in funerary practice (range of pottery repertoire and tomb plans).

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## BOOK REVIEWS

M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen, eds, 2003, *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta). Leuven: Peeters. Pp. xi + 660. ISBN 90-429-1215-4.

Scholars in three interrelated fields — ancient Hebrew, Aramaic-Syriac, and Septuagint — have been indebted to T. Muraoka for his many major contributions spanning four decades of a very distinguished career. To celebrate that career — which has included stops around the globe: Tokyo-Jerusalem-Manchester-Melbourne-Leiden — 42 of his friends, students, and colleagues have contributed as many essays in this high-quality Festschrift as worthy as the jubilarian. Readers of this journal will know that Professor Muraoka served as editor of its predecessor, *Abr-Nahrain*, during the years 1980–1992, that is, during all eleven years of his tenure in Melbourne (1980–1991), plus one additional year.

The volume is divided into two parts of unequal size, “Semitic Studies” (33 articles) and “Biblical Greek Studies” (9 articles). All of the articles save three are in English; two are in French and one is in German. M. F. J. Baasten is responsible for the “Bibliography of Publications by Takamitsu Muraoka” which follows (pp. 631–644), including material published through the year 2001. Detailed indices of passages and words and phrases complete the volume (pp. 645–660).

This review cannot do justice to all of the contributions. Accordingly, in what follows, I comment mainly on those articles of special interest to the reviewer, who also readily admits that he has less expertise in Syriac and Septuagint.

P. S. Alexander, “Literacy among Jews in Second Temple Palestine: Reflections on the Evidence from Qumran” (pp. 3–24), is a wide-ranging article on all matters relevant to the subject announced in the title. Topics covered include the Qumran scriptorium (which according to Alexander’s rough calculations produced only a handful of scrolls per year), materials used (mainly parchment, of course, but also papyrus), ruling (almost always the case on the parchment, never on the papyri where the fibers themselves guided the scribe), the writing itself (ink, corrections, *etc.*), the production of a scroll (3–5 columns per sheet, flax thread for stitching, *etc.*), carrying and storing the scroll (some scrolls are miniature, suggesting portable use; most are damaged on the bottom, suggesting vertical storage), scripts and spelling (a convenient summary of well-known information), the question of reading versus writing, the use of orality, and the sectarian idiolect. As this summary indicates, there is much to be gained from reading this tightly-written and jam-packed article.

F. I. Andersen, “Lo and Behold! Taxonomy and Translation of Biblical Hebrew לִהְיוֹת” (pp. 25–56), is paradigmatic of the studies for which the author is justly famous. The article is thorough (covering the rendering of לִהְיוֹת both in the LXX and in modern English versions), well-argued, clearly-presented, and both simple and complex at the same time (I mean that as a compliment!), with a statistical chart (almost a prerequisite for a study from Andersen’s pen) to boot. Andersen concludes that the many uses of this participle may be subsumed under the category of “perspectival presentative

predicator,” to which he adds, “Our classification... includes components of clause-level syntax (as predicator), semantics (as presentative) and (cognitive) discourse relations (as perspectival)” (pp. 55–56).

One of the volume’s editors, M. F. J. Baasten, contributes “A Note on the History of ‘Semitic’” (pp. 57–72), an interesting study on the history of the term, especially in respect to “Semitic languages.” Some recent scholars have claimed that G. W. Leibniz introduced the term in 1710. Baasten reviews Leibniz’s essay, and while he agrees that Leibniz identified correctly the language family, nowhere did he use the specific term “linguae Semiticae.” Accordingly, pride of place still belongs to A. L. Schlözer, who later would write about Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, *etc.*, “die ich die Semitische nennen möchte” (1781).

For many years M. Bar-Asher has been one of the leading scholars of Mishnaic Hebrew. It is gratifying to see him now turn his attention to Qumran Hebrew (QH). As far as I know, his contribution to this volume, “On Several Linguistic Features of Qumran Hebrew” (pp. 74–93), is his second article on the subject to appear in print. Bar-Asher treats several grammatical and lexical features in 4QNarrative C<sup>a</sup> (4Q462), the most detailed of which concerns the form רִיקְמָה ‘empty-handed’ (4Q462 1:5), with the addition of a second adverbial morpheme *-āh* suffixed after adverbial *-ām*.

M. Eskhult, “Markers of Text Type in Biblical Hebrew from a Diachronic Perspective” (pp. 153–164), builds on the recent work of Frank Polak which distinguishes between an oral (verbal) style characteristic of pre-exilic Hebrew and a heavier, more encumbered (nominal) style typical of post-exilic Hebrew. Eskhult notes that various locutions employed in Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH) direct speech are used very sparingly in Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) direct speech. For example, לֵךְ שָׁלוֹם לְךָ occurs only 2x in LBH, while the question הֲשָׁלוֹם and the farewell לֵךְ שָׁלוֹם (or בְּשָׁלוֹם) occur not at all (and not in QH either). Similarly, בִּי אֲדֹנִי occurs twelve times in the Bible, but never after 1 Kgs 3:26. And as a third example, the particle נָא “is seldom used in indisputably late prose” (p. 159). In some cases, however, caution is advised, based on Eskhult’s tracking of several Greek equivalents to various Hebrew forms in post-biblical literature. All agree, for example, that the reduced use of וְיָיִ is one of the hallmarks of LBH, and yet its Greek equivalent καὶ ἐγένετο is used several times in Judith and 1 Maccabees and is common in Matthew and Luke. Eskhult rightly notes that “the employment of καὶ ἐγένετο in Greek Jewish Hellenistic writings makes it hard to determine when the construction ceased to be used in Hebrew and merely lived on in Greek shape” (p. 156). In my estimation, however, he points the way to answering this question on the previous page, “Although basically a Hebraism, in the New Testament it may be a Septuagintism” (p. 155).

S. E. Fassberg, “A Family History Told in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho” (pp. 191–213), presents a transcription and translation of one Simḥa Mizraḥi’s delightful tales of her family history. As Fassberg notes, due mainly to the diligent work of Yona Sabar, we have ample written texts in this dialect at our disposal, but ironically a smaller amount of oral documentation. This contribution, accordingly, is most welcome.

J. P. Fokkelman continues his recent work in search of meter in biblical poetry with his study, “The Structural and Numerical Perfection of Job 31” (pp. 215–232). Personally, I am skeptical of his overall thesis, worked out in greater detail in his three-volume work *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible* (1998–2003) — and I remain equally unconvinced of any theory which attempts to find meter in Hebrew poetry. But no

scholar interested in the quest for meter in the Bible can afford to ignore Fokkelman's research.

M. L. Folmer, "Metathesis in Jewish Aramaic: A So-called 'Pan-Semitic Feature' Reconsidered" (pp. 233–243), addresses the issue of the metathesis in Hebrew and Aramaic T-stem verbs when the initial radical is a sibilant, e.g., \**hišammēr* > *hišammēr*. More specifically, she presents the rather widespread evidence for the non-metathesis of such forms in the Bar Kosiba letters (mainly Aramaic, but Hebrew too), Nabatean Aramaic, and Palmyrean Aramaic. In these Middle Aramaic dialects, the non-metathesized forms are the norm, e.g., Naḥal Ḥever 53:4 הַתְּשֹׁדֵר, Nabatean (*CIS* II, 208:4) תִּזְבֵּן, etc. In addition, there are several such forms in Qumran Hebrew, though only when a quadriliteral verb is concerned, e.g., 1QH 6:27 הַתְּזֹעֵזֵעַ, 1QH 8:9 יִתְּשֹׁגֵזֵז, etc. Folmer correctly notes one example of this phenomenon in the Bible: Jer 49:3 הַתְּשֹׁטְטֹנָה, along with one example from Old Aramaic: Sefire I A 29 יִתְּשֹׁמֵעַ. In the author's opinion, no definitive conclusions can be reached in light of this array of evidence; nonetheless it is most convenient to have all attested examples of the phenomenon collected in a single essay.

A. Hurvitz adds to his long list of contributions in search of LBH features with "סוף דָּבָר and ראש דָּבָר: Reflexes on Two Scribal Terms Imported into Biblical Hebrew from the Imperial Aramaic Vocabulary" (pp. 281–286). The former appears only in Ps 119:160, while the latter appears only in Qoh 12:13. Both expressions are borrowed from Imperial Aramaic; see Dan 7:1 and Dan 7:28 for their respective attestations. Hurvitz further notes that in the Daniel passages, the Aramaic expressions retain their literal, technical sense, "beginning of the account" and "end of the account," whereas in their Hebrew usages they reflect the semantic development to "beginning of the matter" and "end of the matter."

The contribution by M. Kister, "Some Blessing and Curse Formulae in the Bible, Northwest Semitic Inscriptions, Post-Biblical Literature and Late Antiquity" (pp. 313–332), covers a panoply of ancient texts, as the title suggests. While reading this learned article, I was reminded of the work of Jonas Greenfield (one of Kister's primary teachers), with which it shares much in common. Kister traces selected formulae from two ancient epigraphs, the Aramaic Nerab inscriptions 1 and 2, and the Phoenician Tabnit inscription, and demonstrates clearly how these phrases reverberate in later Jewish texts such as Ben Sira, Jubilees, Bet She'arim tomb inscriptions, the Talmudim, the Targumim, and various midrashic collections. For example, Nerab 1:3 threatens anyone who violates the tomb with מוֹת לַחַה יַכְטְלוּךְ 'may [the gods] kill you with an evil death', while in Nerab 2:3 the wording is יִהְיֶה בָּאֵשׁ מִמֶּתָה 'may [the gods] cause evil in his death' (my renderings, more literal than those given by Kister). The author then demonstrates how the expression 'evil death' occurs in both the Septuagint and the Targum to Ps 34:22, in Job 7:29 (citing the Ethiopic), in a Galilean Aramaic sermon found in the Cairo Geniza (מוֹתָה בִישָׁה), in the Targum to Prov 10:2, 11:4, in a parallel Hebrew expression in b. Yevamot 62b (מִיָּתָה רַעָה), and in the aforementioned Bet She'arim epigraphs (יְהִי מֵאֵת בְּסוּף בֵּישׁ and יְמוֹת בְּסוּף בֵּישׁ).

Kister next posits that מוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל in Numb 23:10 "is probably the opposite of מוֹת לַחַה in the Nerab inscription" (p. 325), adducing evidence from Targum Neofiti and b. Sanhedrin 90a. While Kister does not state so explicitly (he refers only to S. Morag, *Tarbiz* 50 [1981]: 1–24), given the large number of Aramaic-like features in Balaam's oracles — invoked to portray the foreignness of the Aramean prophet — one should assume that מוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל is another such example, though admittedly this expression is



not found in Aramaic sources. This quick summary of just one of Kister's findings does not do justice to the amount of valuable information included in this important article.

A. Millard contributes "Words for Writing in Aramaic" (pp. 349–355), a fine digest dealing with such roots and words as ספר, שטר, אנרה, etc. An original insight is the author's proposal to derive ניר, Akkadian *niāru*, etc., from one of two possible Egyptian terms, either *n-itrw* 'of the Nile' or *n-izrw* 'of the reeds' (p. 351).

Qumran scholars will wish to read E. Qimron's "Prayers for the Festivals from Qumran: Reconstruction and Philological Observations" (pp. 383–393), a detailed study of 1Q34 and 4Q507–509, all very fragmentary.

A. F. Rainey continues his series of studies on the verb with "The *yaqtul* Preterite in Northwest Semitic" (pp. 395–407). The familiar terrain of Amarna Canaanite, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Old Byblian, and Old Aramaic is covered. Note that Rainey includes *wayyiqtol* forms within his category of "*yaqtul* preterite"; indeed such forms serve as the basis for his entire discussion of the Hebrew and Moabite evidence. While it is appropriate to include the ubiquitous *wayyiqtol* forms in this treatment, in my opinion these forms should be distinguished from "true" *yaqtul* preterites (that is, simple prefix-conjugation forms, better to be called "*yqtl* preterite," thereby not prejudicing the vocalization). The latter occur sporadically in Hebrew prose (and of course commonly in Hebrew poetry, but that is another matter), with one Moabite example as well. Here I refer to such examples as Gen 37:7, Judg 2:1, 1 Kgs 20:33, 2 Kgs 8:29, 9:15, and note especially 1 Kgs 21:6, with a striking parallel in Mesha lines 5–6, since both of these *yqtl* forms appear in clauses introduced by כי. For discussion and references, see G. A. Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Bethesda, MD, 2002), pp. 67–68, 71. Rainey adds a nice personal touch to this article with his recollections of having attended H. J. Polotsky's course on "Topics in Semitic Syntax" with Muraoka as a fellow student.

W. H. van Soldt surveys "The Vocalisation of the Word *MLK*, 'King', in Late Bronze Age Syllabic Texts from Syria and Palestine" (pp. 449–471). His main sources are Emar, Ugarit, Alalakh, and Amarna, though he also includes discussions of the earlier Ebla and Mari material and the later Hebrew and Phoenician material (including Masoretic vocalizations, Septuagint transcriptions, and West Semitic names appearing in Neo-Assyrian texts). Van Soldt's conclusions include the following: a) There is a great variety of forms derived from this root, the two most important of which are *milk-* and *mal(i)k-*. b) The form *milk-* usually occurs at the beginning of a name and has two different meanings. In names of the type *Milkī-DN*, its meaning is "counsel." In names of the type *Milku/i-verb/noun*, *milk-* is a theophoric element referring to the god *Milku*. c) The form *mal(i)k-* usually occurs at the end of a name. The fuller form *malik-* predominates at Ebla, Mari, and Emar. Elsewhere during the Late Bronze Age and in the late Iron Age material, the shorter forms *malk-* and *milk-* predominate. The various byforms of *mal(i)k* also bear two different meanings. In names of the type *DN-malik*, the meaning is "king" ("counselor" is less likely). In names of the type *verb/noun-mal(i)k*, the term serves as the theophoric element referring to *Malik*. Readers will wish to supplement van Soldt's study with a recent article by S. E. Fassberg, "Madua' 'En Moš'im mālek be-Hefseq bi-Msoret Teverya la-Miqra'," *Leshonenu* 64 (2002): 207–219.

E. Tov contributes "The Indication of Small Sense Units (Verses) in Biblical Manuscripts" (pp. 473–486). In characteristic fashion, Tov is able to tease out a surprising

amount of evidence relevant to this question. He surveys biblical manuscripts from Qumran, Targumic material from Qumran, LXX manuscripts from Qumran, Nahal Ḥever, and elsewhere, the medieval manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the system of the Masoretic accents, and the manner in which biblical texts are cited within the Qumran Pesharim. As an example of the evidence presented from this last class of evidence, Tov notes that the lemmas in 1QpHab sometimes conform to the Masoretic verse divisions (1:5, 11, 12, 17, 2:14, 15, 16), but more frequently they comprise half-verses or even smaller segments (1:3a, 3b, 4b<sub>2</sub>), one-and-a-half verses (1:1–2a, etc.), two verses (2:1–2, etc.), or even three verses (1:14–16, 2:9–11). Though Tov hastens to add that such lemmas “are inherent with the quotation systems of the *pesharim* in which the subject matter sometimes requires the mentioning of a larger or smaller unit than a verse in MT” (p. 482), which is to say, this evidence is not particularly relevant to the issue at hand. Tov also provides a convenient chart of “Internal Differences within MT Concerning the Scope of Verses in Parallel Passages” (p. 484). For example, the 1.5-verse Ps 96:8–9a appears in 1 Chr 16:29 as a single verse. From this array of polyvalent evidence, Tov concludes that “the division into verses... had its origin in the oral tradition of reading the Bible, as opposed to the written division into sections” (p. 486).

D. T. Tsumura, “Vertical Grammar: The Grammar of Parallelism in Biblical Hebrew” (pp. 487–497), rehearses a theme presented in several earlier studies by this author. His main point is that we need to read parallel poetry not only horizontally, with the B-line corresponding to the A-line, but also at times vertically, especially when an inserted element interrupts the natural correspondence between the A-line and the B-line. There are a surprising number of A//X//B (with X a single inserted element) and A//x//y//B (with x//y an inserted bicolon) structures in the Bible, attention to which allows us not only to marvel at the various types of parallelism within the poetic repertoire, but also to gain the fuller meaning inherent in such passages. But Tsumura also goes one step further. Even in prose texts one can find this type of “poetic narration.” A paradigm example is 1 Sam 28:19 where the expression *ומחר אתה ובניך עמי* ‘and tomorrow you and your sons (shall be) with me’ interrupts the natural flow between what precedes and what follows. Recognition of the A//X//B pattern here obviates the need for textual emendation called for by P. K. McCarter and others.

J. Barr addresses the question “Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?” (pp. 523–543). Most scholars have answered this question in the affirmative, and yet Barr garners a range of evidence pointing to the opposite conclusion. A prime example is the use of *γείωρα* in Isa 14:1 to render Hebrew *גֵּר*. Scholars such as Thackeray, Seeligmann, and Tov have argued that the translators adopted this usage from the same translational equivalence in Exod 12:19. But as Barr correctly notes, this is a unique rendering of *גֵּר* in the Greek Pentateuch, for otherwise one finds 50+ cases of *πρόσφυγτος*, as well as 6 cases of *παράκομος*, to translate the Hebrew word *גֵּר*. If the Greek Pentateuch served as the “dictionary” for the translator of Isaiah, one clearly would expect one of these more common words to appear in Isa 14:1. The use of *γείωρα* in this verse suggests that the translator was proceeding quite independently and rendering the Hebrew into Greek without an eye to the LXX.

J. Joosten, “On Aramaising Rendering in the Septuagint” (pp. 588–600), raises afresh a subject first discussed by Z. Frankel in 1841. Until now, data collection on this

topic has been rather haphazard. But as the author happily notes, one now can make use of Muraoka's reverse index to the Hatch-Redpath concordance of the Septuagint, a boon to scholars in manifold ways, but of even greater service because "a number of convincing cases have been marked out as 'Aramaizing renderings'" (p. 588). Joosten reviews several examples of the phenomenon noted by earlier scholars, proposes some new examples, and then offers some theoretical considerations. Among the new cases adduced by Joosten is the following: in Gen 2:7 the Hebrew word בִּאֲפִי 'in his nostrils' is rendered by the LXX as εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ 'in his face' reflecting Aramaic ܒܐܦܝ 'face'. The number of examples presented in this article justifies Joosten's conclusion, "The influence of Aramaic on the Septuagint translators turns out to have been rather pervasive" (p. 599). In addition, he notes, and I would tend to agree, especially given the amount of Egyptian Aramaic material in our possession (albeit mainly from the Persian period, not the Hellenistic period), "it is possible that [the translators] were actually more proficient in Aramaic than in Hebrew" (*ibid.*).

The other contributors to this volume are S. P. Brock, C. M. Carmichael, J. F. Elwolde, T. C. Falla, T. Harviainen, A. van der Heide, J. Hoftijzer, K. D. Jenner, K. Jongeling, M. Malessa, C. Meehan, W. van Peursen, B. Porten, M. E. J. Richardson, M. Rogland, A. Salvesen, M. S. Smith, A. Aejmelaeus, C. Dogniez, M. Harl, J. Jarick, A. van der Kooij, R. A. Kraft, and R. Sollamo.

As noted at the outset, this Festschrift is a most worthy tribute to Professor Muraoka. Finally, for those curious about the title of this volume, the editors inform us that "Hamlet on a Hill" is, quite simply, the exact English rendering of the name Muraoka: it consists of the two appellative nouns *mura* 'village, hamlet' and *oka* 'hill'" (p. x; Japanese symbols in original, deleted here). I am sure that I speak for many of my colleagues in wishing the honoree continued scholarly productivity in the years ahead.







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André Lemaire, 2001, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes*, École Pratique Des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques II. Hautes études orientales — 34. Moyen et Proche-Orient, 1, Geneve: Librairie Droz S. A. iv + Pp. 160, Pls xxiii. ISBN 2-600-00614-1.

The publication under review is an edition of Aramaic clay tablets including 24 new texts of unknown origin. Thus the book has the merit of publishing new text material, which is indeed welcomed except for a minor flaw that the tablets have been removed from their archaeological context. Most of them stem from larger archives and have little value by being published in a scattered fashion. The information one could have obtained from them concerning their legal and economic relevance has been obscured. It so happens that the first two tablets nos 1 and 2 were published independently by Theodore Kwasman 2000, pp. 274–83, with two superior photos and handcopies by Markham J. Geller, without being referred to by the author in this monograph.

Aramaic legal and economic texts on clay are best to be studied by an Aramaist who has a fair insight into the Neo-Assyrian economic and juridical text corpus and

their terminology. The texts drawn up here in Aramaic are based on Assyrian formulas, but in a far shorter style, and therefore can be mostly only understood by their Assyrian counterparts. For that reason a general introductory description of the texts would have been desirable. The texts have not been arranged according to archives and provenances, but are divided by their shape, rectangular and triangular. Besides the new texts, previously published tablets are re-edited and discussed without having been collated. The merit of republishing texts in such a fashion is questionable.

The major shortcoming of this work is that it does not provide a palaeographic table of comparative letters with similar texts. The edition does not have handcopies. Palaeographic observations are made for certain letters in a very general fashion, e.g. no. 1, p. 23 “*On notera, en particulier, les formes du H, K, M, N, S (lignes 7–8), Q, Š et T*”, or for no. 12, p. 88, “*cette inscription qui présente certaines formes évoluées de la cursive, en particulier les H, Z, T, Y, S, Q, T.*” Quite the contrary is the case, different localities come up with divergent shapes, and the individual letters do not give any hint to their exact dating. The dating can only be deduced from the Neo-Assyrian *limmu* dates or the mentioning of datable rulers as e.g. tablet no. 2. However, Kwasman 2000, p. 277 was the first to point out that in certain areas the *h* is always incised by two vertical strokes, sometimes rounded to the inside, and a dot in the middle instead of a horizontal stroke . These areas are Tell Ḥalaf, Harran, and Tell Sheikh Ḥamad and in Bordreuil 1973 (unknown provenance), here nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and now Tell Sheikh Ḥamad dockets nos 2, 39, 53, 54, 88 in Radner and Röllig 2002. Similar observations can be made for other letters like *t* written with an almost closed circle and a dot in the middle . Unfortunately, the letter is not attested in the Assur and Tell Ḥalaf tablets, but is found in nos 6A (Bordreuil 1973, r sic l. 5), here 14, Geller and Kwasman 2003, no. 1 r 1, Bordreuil 1993, r 2, and Tell Shioukh Fawqani on the Upper Euphrates, Fales 1996, r l. 1. The *m* shows a specific comb like shape on the left hand side  in nos 1, 2, 3, 4, Bordreuil 1973, r sic ll. 2, 3, 4, 5. The *y* is a sloped zickzack line with a dot in the middle on the left hand side in nos 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, Radner and Röllig 2002, nos 2, 10, 39, 53, 54, 88, and Bordreuil 1973, v sic l. 2 or a simple sloped stroke with a dot in the middle on the left as in Tell Sheikh Ḥamad DeZ 13809 v 1 and DeZ 13814 r 5, v 2 (only handcopies) in Röllig 1997 and Bordreuil 1973, v sic l. 3. For the *s* the Assur dockets nos 4 and 5 (Lidzbarski 1921, pl. 2, with collation on the originals) diverge here from the Harran, Tell Ḥalaf and Tell Sheikh Ḥamad specimens. The *s* in Assur no. 4 has a more ancient form, three horizontal lines on top of the vertical stroke, and the other Assur dockets nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and Tell Sheikh Ḥamad nos 10, 53, 54, 88, 109, 115, 128 in Radner and Röllig 2002. Whereas Tell Sheikh Ḥamad dockets nos 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 show already a more developed form of a zigzag on a vertical stroke . The Til Barsib text T11 r 3, 5 display a different zigzag shape . Also *q* has a particular shape, a vertical stroke and two half circles on the top right and left,  e.g. Tell Sheikh Ḥamad nos 37, 55 in Radner and Röllig 2002, and here nos 1, 3, 4. Most of the former handcopies including the ones in Fales 1986 are copied incorrectly, and obscure specific palaeographic details. Exceptions are the copies for the Tell Ḥalaf and Tell Sheikh Ḥamad dockets (*h*, *z*, *h*, *t*, *m*, *s*, and *q*). As pointed out above detailed observations of characteristic letter shapes display certain features of Assyrian-Aramaic scribal schools. Probably, the scribes educated there worked in the remaining

Assyrian realm, in places such as Harran, Tell Ḥalaf and Tell Sheikh Ḥamad, since in these areas the administration was Assyrian. The majority of such details are unfortunately missing from palaeographic studies by Naveh 1970 (who had not the opportunity to check the originals), Fales 1986 and Lieberman 1968, p. 26. Only for the Bordreuil 1973 tablet Kaufman 1977, p. 120, n. 7 made a general statement that *h*, *t* and *m* are different. On the ground of palaeographic observations one can summarize and conclude that the tablets nos 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and nos 1 and 2 in Geller and Kwasman 2003 always show identical shapes of *z*, *h*, *t*, *m*, *s*, *q*, and *t* when they occur, and are identical to the legally excavated cuneiform texts with dockets from Tell Sheikh Ḥamad nos 2, 10, 53, 54, 88, 109, 115. Tablets recently published from Til Barsib and Tell Shioukh Fawqani on the Upper Euphrates have different letter shapes except for *t*.

For each text number one would have expected in a scholarly text edition in the title line the number of the text from the private collection, here hidden in footnotes, and a reference to the category of the text.

Some of the tablet inscriptions are not easy to make out and therefore their reading and interpretation are open to discussion. Previous suggestions in earlier reviews and studies are taken here into consideration. The photographs in this volume are very poor, and show the tendency of private collectors to invest a lot of money in antiquities, but hardly a penny for good quality photography.

Tablet 1, sale document: l. 2: read 'x'z. *pnkk. whbzdtln* instead of [L]Y. MN. KKLN. BDYLN; l. 5: text has definitely *hšlm* not *yšlm* Kwasman 2000; l. 12: The expression reads here *mḥ' byd*, not *mḥ' yd* here and Lipiński 2002, p. 249 or as suggested by Kwasman 2000 *mḥ' myd* (see also handcopy). The incision of the *b* is not very deep and the top looks more like a *b*, but could be taken as *m*. The additional letter is clearly visible. This idiomatic calque *mḥ' byd* from Akkadian *qātāte maḥāšu* lives on in later Mesopotamian Aramaic as in Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic *whww ythy rbnn wl' mḥw bydy* "the scholars were sitting and did not support him (lit. did not shake hands with him)" Giṭṭin 56a misunderstood by Sokoloff 2002, p. 655, or Daniel 4:32 and Mishna Baba Batra 2:3, see Greenfield 1989, p. 49f, l. 7: In contrast to the statement of the author on p. 18 the verb *hpk* spelled with *h* is well attested in Old Aramaic since the Tell Sfire inscription C 19, 21 and Bukān Z. 11'.

Tablet 2, sale document: Again the readings and interpretation diverge between Kwasman 2002 and Lemaire. Kwasman understands far better the Assyrian idioms behind the Aramaic text, but two of his readings are incorrect l. 6 read *zhb* instead of *yhb* and l. 12 *pldrp* instead of *plṛp*. Kwasman is correct in taking *šlšn* as 'threefold' corresponding to the Akkadian equivalent x.MEŠ-te, not 'thirty' as Lemaire p. 26, although Lemaire explains it correctly on p. 28. *šlšn* represents still a historical orthography. *ymt* is a good Aramaic form, a standard plural construct as in Biblical Aramaic *ywmt 'lm* 'days of eternity' Ezra 4:15 and later quite common in Syriac, and does not need to be a Phoenician loan as understood by Lemaire, p. 31.

Tablets 3 and 4 show the same scribal hand as in the Aramaic endorsements on the Tell Sheikh Ḥamad cuneiform tablets, see the relevant plates in Radner and Röllig 2002, and are probably from the same site. The mentioning of the two gods Nikkal and Šehr do not give any hint to the origin of the tablets, since certain deities employed in conveyance or curse formulas may occur in foreign territory, e.g. the Assyrian deities in the Sfire treaty, contrast Lipiński 2002, p. 252. No. 3 v 10 read *šh'dy'* instead of ŠHDWN.

Text 6A: A remark on the revised interpretation of the Neo-Babylonian Aramaic tablet published previously by Starky 1960 and elsewhere, here pp. 64–68. First of all the tablet does not belong into the present publication on account of date and geography. The assumption that this is a sale document of one slave/maid is pure guesswork, and the number of lines are not sure, since the size of the tablet cannot be easily established, but it is probably more likely the size of a common Neo-Babylonian cuneiform tablet. The reading of the recto l. 2' is [...] 'by' t<l>šk' [...] instead of [zb]n byt<l>šny. The *n* is not there, the assumed final letter *y* is not visible at all, and the preceding letter shows no traces of a straight stroke like the *n* on l. 4', and is more comparable to *k* in the line beneath. The work to be consulted for Westsemitic personal names in cuneiform and related texts should have been R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldaean and Achaemenian periods*. Jerusalem, 1977, but this text was omitted in Zadok's study. For our need see section III156, where one learns that the theophoric element Bit-el occurs in Babylonian cuneiform texts too, therefore, the proposed placement of the origin in the region of Sfire is sheer conjecture. That Neo-Babylonian cuneiform tablets and the Bordreuil tablet were dated to the royal year is based on Babylonian administrative convention. On account of this it is reflected in certain books of the Bible and not the reverse.

Tablet 17: Read l. 5 šhdn 'psh instead of WŠHDN 'PSH or Lipiński 2002, p. 258 šhdy' psh.

Vocalisations and interpretations of well attested Neo-Assyrian and other personal names are sometimes incomprehensible. They could have been easily checked in the recent personal name collection from that period, Parpola, S. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* = PNA), vols 1–3. Helsinki, 1998–2002. Most of the Tell Sheikh Ḥamad names were already treated there and in previously scattered Assyriological publications. Read no. 12, 9 Šalmān-rēmānni (šlmn rmn) 'Salmān have mercy upon me' PNA 1079 instead of Shalmān-rammān 'Shalmān est tonnant' (also now in Geller and Kwasman 2003, no. 2, 10), but in l. 8 the author transcribes Salmānuballit (šlmn blt). Aramaic employs here *š* for *s*. However, one misses in the book a general treatment for transliterating Akkadian into Aramaic, and other orthographic descriptions of spelling conventions. For example, Shalmān'izrī sic (šlmn'zry) now occurs in an Aramaic endorsement šlmn'zry BATSH 6, 41 edge b and corresponds to Assyrian Salmānu-idri PNA 1078 (incorrectly written there šlmn'zry). ḥbšr no. 15, 1 spelled with *š* is a well attested Akkadian name Ḥabašīru 'mouse', occurring frequently in Neo-Babylonian texts and should not be confused as in Lipiński 2002, p. 258 with the Arabian leader name Ḥabazīru = PNA 436. It is spelled there with *z*. y'n l. 8 is probably identical to Assyrian Aia-lūnu PNA I 91. Rāpi' of 15, 11 acts also as a witness in BATSH 6 138 r 4' and is a Westsemitic name, not Assyrian.

For most of the new tablets published in this volume it is obvious that they originate from known archives in Tell Sheikh Ḥamad (Dūr Katlimmu). This is confirmed by palaeographic features, proper names of sellers, buyers, loaners, and witnesses, as well as the recent publication of two additional tablets from the archive of Šulmu-Šarri in Geller and Kwasman 2003.

This edition of mostly unpublished Aramaic clay tablets would have profited from a careful study of the material before seeing publication. The transliterations carry many inconsistencies concerning legible, partial legible and non legible char-

acters. The author should have acquainted himself with the fact that the texts derive from an Assyrian administrative setting and their “*Sitz im Leben*” is to be sought in Mesopotamia, and not in the Bible, nor in Phoenicia nor even in more remote Western areas. The latter are often referred to without any benefit for the understanding of the texts and their interpretation. One is not confronted here with the same situation as the Imperial Aramaic papyri from Egypt. The latter are based on imported administrative formulas from Babylonia. Among the welcome aspects of the book are the correctly spelled Arabic dialectal place names. This is preferable to the hybrid combinations of hypercorrect Classical Arabic such as Tall and dialectal forms like Šēḥ Ḥamad, Bderi. The citations of the literature is very reliable and there are hardly any typographical errors.

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Christian M. M. Brady, *The Rabbinic Targum of Lamentations: Vindicating God* (Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 3). E. J. Brill; Leiden, 2003. Pp. ix + 187. ISBN 90 04 12163 3

In this study Brady examines the exegesis of the book of Lamentations reflected in its rabbinic Targum (TgLam).<sup>1</sup> While the biblical book of Lamentations is a response to the horrific disasters that befell Judah in the early sixth century BCE, TgLam is a response to Lamentations, probably from the seventh century CE.<sup>2</sup> As indicated in the title of Brady's monograph, the targumist brought the book of Lamentations in line with contemporary rabbinic beliefs and 'vindicated God' by demonstrating that the punishment that Jerusalem had to suffer was the proper judgement of the righteous God over the sinful people. The targumist carefully

<sup>1</sup> The investigations for this review have been supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

<sup>2</sup> On the question of the date of TgLam see also Brady, 'The Date, Provenance, and *Sitz im Leben* of Targum Lamentations', *JAB* 1 (1999), 5–29.



avoids the suggestion — sometimes present in the Hebrew text — that Jerusalem's punishment was disproportionate to its crimes.

Brady argues that TgLam presupposes a liturgical context. Although the custom that the scriptural reading in the synagogue was translated into Aramaic is well established, the question whether the extant written Targumim were used for this purpose is a debated issue (especially because according to rabbinic sources the *meturgeman* was prohibited from using a written translation). In the case of TgLam, however, 'the text itself indicates that it was crafted with a synagogal audience in mind' (p. 5) and that the targumist sought to bring his audience into the text as 'the Congregation of Israel dwelling in exile' (TgLam 2:19), which could be reconciled with God through repentance and rabbinic worship.

Chapter One, the largest chapter of the book, deals with Israel's responsibility. The targumist uses a number of techniques to emphasise Israel's responsibility in precipitating the destruction of Zion. These exegetical devices include the use of מִדַּת דִּינָא 'the Attribute of Justice' to explain why the horrific events have come upon Israel, and the use of the interpretative principle of מִדָּה כִּנְגַד מִדָּה 'measure for measure' to show that the form of Israel's punishment is directly related to its sin. TgLam 1:3, for example, makes clear that the House of Judah has become as a widow, because she herself oppressed the widows.

Characteristic of TgLam is its dramatic heightening and its intensification of violent or sexual imagery. In this respect TgLam is unique among the targumim, because other targumim tend to soften harsh biblical language. Thus Jerusalem's 'uncleanness' in Lam. 1:9 becomes the 'blood of her menstruation' in TgLam. In 1:15 'the Lord has trodden as in a wine press, the virgin daughter of Judah' has been rendered as 'the nations entered ... and defiled the virgins of the House of Judah until the blood of their virginity was caused to flow like wine from a wine press...'. A special form of this dramatic heightening is the use of converse translations. The Hebrew הִיָּתָה לַמָּס in Lam. 1:1, for example, is translated twice. It is interpreted both as a remark about Jerusalem who has become a vassal (the simple meaning) and as a reference to Jerusalem as the recipient of tributes from the nations in earlier days (the converse translation).

Brady pays due attention to the translation of the first four verses of TgLam, which are extremely expansive. In these opening verses TgLam gives a systematic presentation of the history of God's people, which was a history of rebellion from the very beginning. TgLam 1:1–4 constitutes a theological prologue to the whole book and contains a number of allusions to Midrashic traditions (e.g. the association of אֵיכָה 'how?', the first word of Lamentations, with אַיְיָכָה 'where are you?' in Gen. 3:9.<sup>3</sup>

Chapter Two addresses the role of God in Jerusalem's misfortune. It is significant that TgLam does not seek to diminish the severity of the text or distance God from the acts of aggression. On the contrary, TgLam sometimes intensifies God's active role in the destruction of Jerusalem. Even in those cases where it mentions the hostile armies that came to destroy Jerusalem, it makes clear that they could not have succeeded in their attack had Jerusalem not been given over to them by God (see e.g. TgLam 1:19). It is also remarkable that the targumist did not have any difficulty

<sup>3</sup> See also Brady, 'Targum Lamentations 1:1–4: A Theological Prologue' in *Targum and Scripture: Studies in Aramaic Translation and Interpretation in Memory of Ernest G. Clarke* (ed. Paul V.M. Fleisher; SAIS 2; Leiden 2003) 175–183. (Thus volume is reviewed elsewhere in this journal.)

in speaking about God's anger, and sometimes even inserts this anthropopathism into the text.

Chapter Three discusses Israel's response. While in the book of Lamentations there is only one clear call to repentance (3:40–42), in TgLam repentance is a recurrent theme. The Targumist asserts that Jerusalem had the opportunity to repent, and thereby stave off punishment, but refused to do so (e.g. TgLam 1:2) and elaborates on the call to repentance in the centre of the book (3:40–42). At the end of book (5:21) '(restore us...) that we may be restored (וְנִשְׁוּב)' is modified to 'and we will return in complete repentance (וְנִיחֹב בְּתִיבְתָּא שְׁלֵמָתָא)'.

The proper response consists not only of repentance and returning to God, but also of adherence to fundamental rabbinic principles and practices. There are two passages where these principles are most prominent. The first is 2:18–19. The biblical text contains a call to the people to pray to God throughout the night in the hope that He might intercede. In TgLam this has become a call to the congregation to study Torah and Mishnah in the night (perhaps referring to a custom of nocturnal commemorations on *Tisha b'Ab*) and to pray in the House of the Congregation (the synagogue). The second is 3:25–30. In this verse the targumist modifies the 'yoke' of the Hebrew text to 'the yoke of the commandments' and introduces the notions of faith and obedience. He also adds a remark about 'the unity of the name of the Lord', which refers to the recitation of the *Shema*.

Chapter Four contains the conclusions. TgLam is primarily concerned with responding to the text of Lamentations. It reflects an attempt to vindicate God, to acquit Him of any perceived guilt and to bring Lamentations into line with contemporary rabbinic theological beliefs. It also sought to direct its audience to proper rabbinic worship through repentance and the study of Mishnah and Torah.

The book contains three appendices. The first appendix gives a very short survey of the textual history of TgLam. A distinction can be made between the western tradition attested in European and North African manuscripts, and the Yemenite tradition.<sup>4</sup> The Yemenite tradition is derived from the Western text and revised with the aim of achieving a closer resemblance to the MT. For this reason Brady has chosen an important textual witness to the western tradition as the basis for his study: Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Hebr. 1. The second appendix gives the text of this manuscript. The third appendix is a complete translation of TgLam into English.

The series *Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture* was launched in 2002. The book under review is the third, valuable contribution to this series. To those who consider a book review not to be complete without some critical remarks we have little to offer, except for an editorial detail. It is a pity that throughout the book footnotes at the bottom of the pages do not run parallel with the references in the main text, but come one or two pages later.

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<sup>4</sup> See A. van der Heide, *The Yemenite Tradition of the Targum of Lamentations. Critical Text and Analysis of the Variant Readings* (Studia Post-Biblica 32; Leiden 1981).

Paul V. M. Fleisher (ed.), *Targum and Scripture. Studies in Aramaic Translation and Interpretation in Memory of Ernest G. Clarke* (Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 2; E. J. Brill; Leiden, 2002). Pp. xxi + 327. ISBN 90 04 12677 5

The papers in the present volume are dedicated to the memory of Ernest G. Clarke.<sup>1</sup> Clarke gave important incentives to the study of the targumim as a discipline in its own right. He started the *Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies* (see <http://www.targum.org>) and founded the *International Organization for Targum Studies* (IOTS). Every three years this organisation holds a congress in association with the *International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament* (IOSOT). The volume under review includes, among others, the papers presented at the first IOTS congress held at Cambridge in 1995. It opens with an appreciation of Clarke's academic career by R. Theodore Lutz, 'A Personal View' by Walter E. Aufrecht, a bibliography, and an essay on Clarke's contribution to targum studies by Paul V. M. Fleisher. This introductory section is followed by four parts related to different areas of targum studies.

Part One deals with 'Method and Theory in the History of the Targumim'. The first two contributions deal with the synopticity of the targumim to the Pentateuch. Martin McNamara ('Towards an English Synoptic Presentation of the Pentateuchal Targums') argues that after the appearance of critical editions of the targumim to the Pentateuch in recent years, the time has come for a synoptic presentation. As a specimen he gives a synoptic presentation of the targumim of Genesis 14. The synoptic analysis shows the stability of the central Palestinian Targum of this chapter. Moshe J. Bernstein ('The Aramaic Versions of Deuteronomy 32: A Study in Comparative Targumic Theology') compares the targumim on Deuteronomy 32. According to Bernstein we should discount features that come from the Hebrew source text as well as phenomena that are due to the translator's translation technique and exegetical methodology if we wish to establish the theology of the targumim. What remains—in many cases the 'pluses'—shows the ideas and values that the translator brought into the text.

The other two contributions in this section focus on the communities in which the targumim functioned. Roger Syrén ('Text and Community: The Case of the Targums') argues that the interpretation of the targumim should take into account not only the community represented by the targumist (the 'sponsoring community'), but also the users of the targumim (the 'reading community') and their religious practices. Paul V. M. Fleisher ('Targum as Scripture') defends the thesis that during the early rabbinic period the targum constituted the Bible for Palestinian Jews outside the rabbinic class. He takes Targum Neofiti as an example and argues that the remarkable combination of a very literal translation, reproducing the Hebrew source text as much as possible, and much additional material that has no base in the Hebrew text, only makes sense if the audience had a wide range of abilities in Hebrew.

Part Two deals with the Pentateuchal Targumim. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and David Noel Freedman ('The Fragments of a Targum to Leviticus in Qumran Cave 4 [4Q156]: A Linguistic Comparison and Assessment') give a morphological, gram-

<sup>1</sup> The investigations for this review have been supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

matical and syntactical analysis of 4QTgLev. Because of the dissimilarities with the same Leviticus passage in later targumim, they conclude that the Qumran document reflects a translation tradition that did not survive, for it was not picked up in the later targumim.

The other contributions in this section focus on the Palestinian Targumim. Bjørn Olav Grøner Kvam ('"Come, Let the Two of us Go out into the Field": The Targum Supplement to Genesis 4:8a—A Text-Immanent Reading?') investigates the gap in Gen. 4:8 ('and Cain said' is not followed by any direct speech informing the reader what Cain said) and the way in which this gap is filled in the Ancient Versions. He argues that the supplement in the Palestinian Targumim ('Come...') reflects influence from 1 Sam. 20:11 and Cant. 7:12. R. M. Campbell ('*Parashiyyot* and their Implications for Dating the Fragment-Targums') shows that the lemmata marking the *parashiyyot* in the Fragment-Targums follow the annual reading cycle. This suggests a rather late date for the Fragment-Targums, because there is no direct evidence for the use of the annual cycle in Palestine until at least the tenth century.

C. T. R. Hayward ('Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and the Bread of the Presence') focuses on the interpretation of the Bread of the Presence in *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* This targum attaches cosmic significance to the 'interior bread'. While there are some affinities with Philo and the Septuagint, there is little agreement with rabbinic sources. Neither the halakhic discussions about the preparation of the bread nor the aggadic traditions about the presentation of the bread to the crowd (demonstrating the miracle that it has not gone stale) are reflected in *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* The contribution by Beverly P. Mortensen ('Pseudo-Jonathan's Temple, Symbol of Judaism') shows that the cosmic interpretation is not restricted to the Bread of the Presence: *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* interprets every object and detail of the Temple as a symbol of an aspect of Judaism or the history of Israel.

Part Three contains two contributions on the Prophetic Targumim. Bruce Chilton ('"HEBR. 75" in the Bibliothèque Nationale') describes a manuscript that has not been used in Sperber's edition. In terms of textual affiliation this manuscript mediates between the type of the Codex Reuchlinianus and the type of the Rabbinic Bibles. It is an early witness to *Tg. Jon.*, but it also includes additional material. Josep Ribera-Florit ('Some Doctrinal Aspects of the Targum of Ezekiel') discusses the affinities of the Targum of Ezekiel with Merkabah mysticism and speculations about the heavenly abode in Jewish writings from the centuries around the beginning of the Common Era, like the Book of the Watchers, the Testament of Abraham and the Ascension of Isaiah.

Part Four deals with the Targumim of the Writings. Philip S. Alexander ('Notes on Some Targums of the Targum of the Song of Songs') focuses on 'Secondary Targumim'. These are either vernacular versions in the spirit and style of the primary Aramaic targumim, or direct renderings of the primary Aramaic targumim into a new Jewish vernacular. They show that the phenomenon of 'Targumism' continued as an active process within Judaism, even when the production of Aramaic targumim ceased. C. M. M. Brady ('Targum Lamentations 1:1–4: A Theological Prologue') shows how *Tg. Lam.* 1:1–4 provides the historical and theological setting within which the destruction of the Temple is to be understood according to the targumist. Edward M. Cook ('The Psalms Targum: Introduction to a New Translation, with Sample Texts') gives an introduction to the first English transla-

tion of the Psalms Targum. An appendix contains the translation of *Tg. Ps.* 68, 110 and 118. A complete translation is available at <http://www.targum.org>. L. Díez Merino ('Translation of Proper Names: A Targumic Method of Hermeneutics in Targum Esther') places the device of translating proper names, which is attested in *Tg. Esther* and other targumim, within the long tradition of interpreting and translating proper names, a hermeneutical tradition that had started already in the Hebrew text of the Bible. Celine Mangan, 'Blessing and Cursing in the Prologue to Targum Job' discusses the way in which *Tg. Job* and the other Ancient Versions treat the euphemism 'to bless' with the meaning 'to curse' in Job 1–2. The last contribution contains the first edited text of the *Tg. Ruth* by Derek R. G. Beattie ('The Targum of Ruth: A Preliminary Edition').

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Michael Given and A. Bernard Knapp, 2003, *The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project: Social Approaches to Regional Archaeological Survey* (Monumenta Archaeologica 21). Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles. Pp. xxvi + 356, figs. 107, plates 88, tables 63. ISBN 1-931745-04-8 (cloth).

This publication presents the results of an intensive, multidisciplinary field survey in the north-central foothills of the Troodos Mountains of Cyprus, undertaken over five seasons between 1992 and 1997. While the importance of the Troodos Mountain region as a source of copper for the ancient civilisations of the Near East has long been recognised, the organisation of the ancient copper producing industries of Cyprus have become a topic of considerable debate. As archaeometallurgical excavation in the region has done little to settle these debates, a regional study focusing on an area encompassing the transition between the copper bearing Troodos foothills and nearby alluvial plains could prove more informative. In addition, approaches which consider possible social impacts of ancient industries and the landscapes in which they were set are lacking alongside many which consider the technical processes alone.

The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP) was designed to address both of these omissions. Firstly, it aimed to locate copper production and agricultural sites in the study area in order to develop an understanding of the relationship between such sites and their role in a supra-regional context. In keeping with the social approaches commonly adopted by the authors, the SCSP was also concerned with the human experience of a landscape, making use of modern, post-processual theoretical approaches termed "landscape archaeology". Such approaches seek to interpret changing landscapes in terms of the cultural values and perceptions of the complex societies or individuals who lived in them. In order to facilitate such novel approaches, the SCSP sought to develop a methodology which was scientifically rigorous, while producing data sufficient and suitable for combining field survey with a social approach to archaeology.

The importance of survey methodology to the SCSP is clearly demonstrated by the dedication of two chapters to a detailed discussion of the methodology used, material which makes a valuable contribution to the methodology of archaeological survey. Beyond traditional mapping and field walking, the SCSP incorporated GIS mapping, geomorphological analysis, geobotanical analysis combined with satellite imagery, archaeometallurgical analysis, novel statistical techniques for analysing the pottery collected and historical and oral sources. Of particular note are the experimental field surveys which the SCSP used to establish the sherd recovery percentage of its survey teams depending upon variables such as visibility, background confusion and vegetation. Importantly for archaeometallurgical studies, the SCSP also demonstrated the value of geobotanical analysis via satellite imagery, with a number of slag heaps revealed through a change in vegetation resulting from the slag's effect on the chemical composition of the soil covering it. The intensive, multidisciplinary approach of the SCSP demonstrates the wide range of information which can be obtained using a range of non-destructive techniques, clearly described across two extensive chapters. One minor criticism of the methodology used, however, is that apart from excavation at the Protohistoric Bronze Age smelting workshop, Politiko Phorades, the SCSP did not make use of small trial excavations at "Places of Special Interest". This practice is often used in survey projects in the Americas and has proven to reduce potential cultural skewing through reliance on the surface archaeological record.

As a result of the intensive, multidisciplinary approach used, the authors were able to evaluate convincingly the role of the SCSP region in a wider geo-political context across a number of chronological periods. The authors describe dynamic relationships between the copper producing and agricultural sites in the survey region, particularly from the Late Bronze Age through to the Roman period, with emphasis also placed on the region's role in inter-regional trade for each period. Evidence regarding the organisation of Bronze and Iron Age copper production and trade in rural Cyprus is of particular interest as there has been insufficient evidence to support previous speculation on these topics. Outside these chronological periods, however, the SCSP provides less detailed information. From the Medieval to Modern Periods, there is no direct evidence for mining and, interestingly, little Byzantine material was recovered at all, a development which the authors find difficult to explain. Material from prehistoric periods is also limited, although this is attributed to either a lower population or the difficulties involved in identifying prehistoric sites which lack clear ceramic chronological indicators. Future research may resolve these issues.

A discussion of the "Ideational Landscapes" of the SCSP region is based upon the theory that the location of sites in the landscape is intrinsically linked and indicative of the needs of the society inhabiting that landscape. The authors discuss the location of so-called, "symbolic sites" such as cemeteries, churches and rural sanctuaries within the landscape and in relation to copper production and agricultural sites. The authors, meanwhile, also include a reflexive warning characteristic of post-processual interpretation; the categorisation of secular and symbolic sites reflects a "post-enlightenment" Western view. We should not ignore the possibility that seemingly functional sites may have also had symbolic value attached to them.

The SCSP identified a number of Iron Age rural sanctuaries, noting their location at prominent nodes on the landscape overlooking agricultural land, the use of

which reaffirms a community's links with this land. This is contrasted with the location of Medieval to Modern period cemeteries and churches located within nucleated agricultural communities. Using evidence from folktales dating to corresponding periods, the authors associate the location of these sites with the idea that they protected the community from the wilderness which surrounded a village's outlying fields. Unfortunately, the identification of symbolic roles at sites from other periods is limited by the nature of the information obtainable from field survey. Excavation at the Bronze Age smelting workshop, Politiko Phorades, has, however, revealed material which the authors suggest is indicative of a ritual function. At the risk of advocating destructive techniques over intensive fieldwork, there is an impression that the authors recognise here the greatest limitation of intensive field survey with regard to modern, social archaeologies; that the amount of detailed and contextualised information which such approaches require can not be obtained solely through survey.

Limitations aside, the SCSP demonstrates the value of intensive, multidisciplinary field survey to the examination of the archaeological record on a regional scale. Thorough and clearly described methodology, combined with novel social approaches to interpreting data, set a benchmark and provide a valuable reference for anyone interested in archaeological survey and landscape archaeology. On a more specific level, the findings of the SCSP contribute significantly to an understanding of ancient Cyprus, particularly regarding previously neglected agricultural and mining hinterland regions which supplied produce to the well-studied ancient cities of Cyprus.

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